

THE
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THE OPEN COURT

Devoted to the Science of Religion, the Religion of Science,
and the Extension of the Religious Parliament Idea.

FOUNDED BY EDWARD C. HEGELER

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THE VENERABLE A. H. DHARMAPALA

The Venerable Anagarika H. Dharmapala, the greatest figure in the renaissance movement in Buddhism and the founder of the Maha Bodhi Society, passed away on April 29, 1933, at the "Mulagandhakuti Vihara", the Buddhist temple which he built at Isijatana, Sarnath, Benares. It was here that Buddha preached his first sermon after his enlightenment, and here the Venerable Dharmapala was admitted into the holy order of Bhikkus in January of this year. Dharmapala was one of the most distinguished of the delegates to the World's Congress of Religions held in Chicago in connection with the Columbian Exposition of 1893.

Frontispiece to The Open Court

THE OPEN COURT

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June, 1933

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INDIA AT THE WORLD'S PARLIAMENT OF RELIGIONS

BY J. V. NASH

AFTER the lapse of forty years, the World's Parliament of Religions, which met at Chicago in September, 1893, stands out as a significant landmark in the progressive evolution of human relations. Here, for the first time, there came together, in a spirit of brotherhood and good-will, representatives of different forms of organized belief from all the far-flung quarters of the earth. The occasion was unique, also, in the fact that the Roman Catholic Church was officially represented by many of its highest dignitaries. For the work of organizing the Parliament, much of the credit was due to Dr. John Henry Barrows, a Presbyterian clergyman of Chicago, who served as Chairman of the General Committee.

Let us imagine ourselves among the audience of some 4,000 persons who packed the spacious Columbus Hall, in the then newly erected Art Institute building on Michigan Avenue. It is the morning of September 11, and the waiting throng has been singing "Jerusalem, the Golden." At ten o'clock, ten strokes on the new Liberty Bell (symbolizing the ten great religions) announce the opening of the Parliament.

A hush falls upon the vast assemblage as the colorful procession comes into view. Cardinal Gibbons, in scarlet robes, arm in arm with the Hon. C. C. Bonney, President of the World's Congress Auxiliary, and immediately followed by Mrs. Potter Palmer and Mrs. Charles Henrotin, officials of the Woman's Branch of the Auxiliary, heads the long line of delegates as, two by two, they march down the aisle of the auditorium and up to the platform.

"The sight," says a contemporary account, "was most remarkable. There were strange robes, turbans and tunics, crosses and

crests, flowing hair and tonsured heads.... Buddhist monks were attired in garments of white and yellow; an orange turban and robe made the Brahman conspicuous; and the Greek Archbishop of Zante, from whose high head-gear there fell to the waist a black veil, was brilliant in purple robe and black cassock, and glittering as to his breast in chains of gold. Dharmapala, the reformed Buddhist, was recognized in his woolen garments; and, in black clothes, hardly to be distinguished from European dress, was Mozoomdar, author of the 'Oriental Christ,' a most touching history of a soul struggling homeward to God. In a golden bond of friendship, the oldest of the religions of the world greeted the youngest of the religions."

Many nations were represented at the Parliament. But it was India, the ancient Mother of Religions, that had the most numerous and impressive of all foreign delegations. Its personnel included the following:

Siddhu Ram, Mooltan, Punjab.

Vichand Raghavji Gandhi, Honorary Secretary of the Jain Association, Bombay.

Professor G. N. Chakravarti, Allahabad.

Swami Vivekananda.

B. B. Nagarkar, of the Brahmo Somaj, Bombay.

Manilal Ni Dvivedi, Bombay.

P. C. Mozoomdar, of the Brahmo Somaj, Calcutta.

Jinda Ram, Attorney and Temperance Leader, Muzaffargah.

H. Dharmapala, of Ceylon, General Secretary, Maha Bodhi Society, Calcutta.

Jinanji Jamshodji Modi, of the Parsee Community.

Narasima Chaira, Brahman, of Madras.

Lakeshnie Narain.

Miss Jeanni Serabji, Parsee Christian.

There were also present two Christian missionaries from India—Rev. Maurice Phillips, of Madras, and Rev. T. E. Slater, of Bangalore.

The addresses of the various representatives of Mother India are noteworthy for their spiritual insight, their broad human sympathy and tolerance, and their intellectuality. India certainly has reason to take satisfaction in her spokesmen at this historic gathering.

At the opening session, the first speaker to bring greetings from India was P. C. Mozoomdar. He received a tremendous ovation when, following the venerable Greek Archbishop of Zante, he rose to address the audience. He began as follows:

The recognition, sympathy, and welcome you have given to India to-day are gratifying to thousands of liberal Hindu religious thinkers, whose representatives I see around me, and, on behalf of my countrymen, I cordially thank you. India claims her place in the brotherhood of mankind, not only because of her great antiquity, but equally for what has taken place there in recent times. Modern India has sprung from ancient India by a law of evolution, a process of continuity which explains some of the most difficult problems of our national life. In prehistoric times our forefathers worshiped the great living spirit, God, and, after many strange vicissitudes, we Indian theists, led by the light of ages, worship the same living spirit, God, and none other.

Egypt, Greece, Rome, even Israel, he went on to observe, have passed away as nations, while India, "the old mother of nations and religions," after weathering many storms, and in spite of repeated waves of invasion and loss of political independence, lives on with no diminution of her spiritual vitality.

In his concluding remarks he said: "No individual, no denomination, can more fully sympathize or more heartily join your conference than we men of the Brahmo Somaj, whose religion is the harmony of all religions, and whose congregation is the brotherhood of all nations. Such being our aspirations and sympathies, dear brethren, accept them. Let me thank you again for this welcome in the name of my countrymen, and wish every prosperity and success to your labors."

H. Dharmapala, the spokesman of the Buddhists, compared the Parliament of Religions to the memorable religious convention assembled by the Emperor Asoka some 2100 years before, saying:

At that time Asoka, the great emperor, held a council in the city of Patma of 1000 scholars, which was in session for seven months. The proceedings were epitomized and carved on rock and scattered all over the Indian peninsula and the then known globe. After the consummation of that programme the great emperor sent the gentle teachers, the mild disciples of Buddha, in the garb that you see on this platform, to instruct the world. In that plain garb they went across the deep rivers, the Himalayas, to the plains of Mongolia and the Chinese plains, and to the far-off beautiful isles, the empire of the rising sun; and the influence of that congress held twenty-one centuries ago is to-day a living power, because you everywhere see mildness in Asia. Go to any Buddhist country and where do you find such healthy compassion and tolerance as there?....

Why do I come here to-day? Because I find in this new city, in this land of freedom, the very place where that programme can also be carried out. . . . Yes, friends, if you are serious, if you are unselfish, if you are altruistic, this programme can be carried out, and the twentieth century will see the teachings of the meek and lowly Jesus accomplished. . . . And I hope that the noble lessons of tolerance, learned in this majestic assembly, will result in the dawning of universal peace, which will last for twenty centuries more.

Vichand R. Gandhi, the spokesman of the Jain communion of India, brought to the Parliament the official greetings of the high priest of his religion, Moni Atma Ranji. He said in part:

I represent Jainism, a faith older than Buddhism, similar to it in its ethics, but different from it in its psychology, and professed by 1,500,000 of India's most peaceful and law-abiding citizens. . . . This spectacle of the learned leaders of thought and religion meeting together on a common platform, and throwing light on religious problems, has been the dream of Atma Ranji's life. He has commissioned me to say to you that he offers his most cordial congratulations on his own behalf, and on behalf of the Jain community, for your having achieved the consummation of that grand idea, of convening a Parliament of Religions.

Professor G. N. Chakravarti spoke for the Theosophists of India:

I came here to represent a religion, the dawn of which appeared in a misty antiquity which the powerful microscope of modern research has not yet been able to discover; the depth of whose beginnings the plummet of history has not been able to sound. From time immemorial spirit has been represented by white, and matter has been represented by black, and the two sister streams which join at the town from which I came, Allahabad, represent two sources of spirit and matter, according to the philosophy of my people. And when I think that here, in this city of Chicago, this vortex of physicality, this center of material civilization, you hold a Parliament of Religions: when I think that, in the heart of the World's Fair, where abound all the excellencies of the physical world, you have provided also a hall for the feast of reason and the flow of soul, I am once more reminded of my native land."

He declared that his society has universal tolerance for a fundamental principle, and he took great satisfaction in seeing the Parliament of Religions open its arms to representatives of diverse points of view, and allowing himself—"a heathen," as he said—

to speak from the same platform. Toward the close of his remarks he expressed this thought:

The East enjoys the sacred satisfaction of having given birth to all the great religions of the world, and even as the physical sun rises ever from the East, the sun of spirituality has always dawned in the East. To the West belongs the proud privilege of having advanced on the intellectual and on the moral plane, and of having supplied to the world all the various contrivances of material luxuries and of physical comfort. I look, therefore, upon a union of the East and West as a most significant event, and I look with great hope upon the day when the East and the West will be like brothers helping each other, each supplying to the other what it wants—the West supplying the vigor, the youth, the power of organization, and the East opening up its inestimable treasures of a spiritual law, which are now locked up in the treasure boxes grown rusty with age."

B. B. Nargarkar, of Bombay, spoke of the development of the Brahmo Somaj (Theistic Church):

The Brahmo Somaj is the result, as you know, of the influence of various religions, and the fundamental principles of the Theistic Church, in India, are universal love, harmony of faiths, unity of prophets, or rather unity of prophets and harmony of faiths. The reverence that we pay the other prophets and faiths is not mere lip loyalty, but it is the fundamental love for all the prophets and for all the forms and shades of truth by their own inherent merit. We try not only to learn in an intellectual way what those prophets have to teach, but to assimilate and imbibe these truths that are very near our spiritual being.

The speaker concluded by pleading for a fruitful blending of the East and the West:

In the East we have a number of systems of philosophy; a deep insight into the spiritual nature of man. . . . Catch hold very firmly of what is permanent of the Eastern philosophy. Lay it down very strongly to the heart, and try to assimilate it with your noble Western thoughts. You Western nations represent all the material civilization. You who have gone deep into the outward world and tried to discover the forces of outward nature, you have to teach to the East the glory of man's intellect, his logical accuracy, his rational nature, and in this way it is that in the heart of the church of the new dispensation—call it by whatever name you will—you will have the harmony of the East and the West, a union between faith and reason, a wedding between the Orient and the Occident.

Miss Jeanni Serabji, a Christian of Parsee parentage, was one of the closing speakers on the first day's program. The lady told briefly of her pleasure in being present at the Congress. Her somewhat evangelical address was filled with earnest feeling. "When we meet one another in our land," she remarked, "the first thing we say to each other is 'Peace be with you.' I say it to you in all sincerity, in all love. I feel to-day that the great banner over us is the banner of love. I feel to-day more than ever that it is beautiful to belong to the family of God, to acknowledge the Lord Christ."

The sessions of the Parliament of Religions extended over a period of seventeen days. At the various ensuing sessions carefully prepared papers on special subjects were read by a number of the representatives of India.

On the second day, Rev. Maurice Phillips, of Madras, spoke on "The Ancient Religion of India and Primitive Revelation"; and Manilal Ni Drivedi, of Bombay, discussed "The Religious Belief of the Hindus." A few excerpts from this illuminating address will be of special interest:

Hinduism is a wide term, but, at the same time, a vague term. The word Hindu was invented by the Mohammedan conquerors of Aryavata, the historical name of India, and it denotes all who reside beyond the Indus. Hinduism, therefore, correctly speaking, is no religion at all. It embraces within its wide intention all shades of thought, from the atheistic Jainas and Bauddhas to the theistic Sampradaikas and Samajists and the rationalistic Advaytins. But we may agree to use the term in the sense of that body of philosophical and religious principles which are professed in part or whole by the inhabitants of India.

In discussing the God-idea as contained in the Vedas, he said:

In the Vedas there are marks everywhere of the recognition of the idea of one God, the God of nature, manifesting himself in many forms. This word, *God*, is one of those which have been the stumbling-block of philosophy. God, in the sense of a personal creator of the universe, is not known in the Veda, and the highest effort of rationalistic thought in India has been to see God in the totality of all that is. And, indeed, it is doubtful whether philosophy, be it that of a Kant or a Hegel, has ever accomplished anything more. . . .

I humbly beg to differ from those who see in monotheism, in the recognition of a personal God apart from nature, the acme of intellectual development. I believe that is only a

kind of anthropomorphism which the human mind stumbles upon in its first efforts to understand the unknown. The ultimate satisfaction of human reason and emotion lies in the realization of that universal essence which is the all. And I hold an irrefragable evidence that this idea is present in the Veda, the numerous gods and their invocations notwithstanding. This idea of the formless all, the Sat—i.e., esse-being—called Atman and Brahman in the Upanishads, and further explained in the Darsanas, is the central idea of the Veda, nay, the root idea of the Hindu religion in general.

The speaker concluded with the thought that there should be worked out a genuine science of religion, universal in its scope and application.

On the third day of the Parliament, P. C. Mozoomdar presented a paper discussing in detail the work of the Brahmo Somaj, which was founded by Ram Dohan Roy, a man of Brahman caste, learned not only in Sanskrit but also in Arabic and Persian. While still in his teens, he made a journey to Tibet and studied there the lore of the lamas. In later life the title of *Rajah* was conferred upon him. It is interesting to note that the year 1933 is the centenary of the death of this noted leader, the father of the Theistic Hindu Church, which he established in 1830. The word *Brahmo*, the speaker explained, means "worshiper of God," and *Somaj* means "society."

"While on the one hand," continued Mozoomdar, "he established the Brahmo Somaj, on the other he coöperated with the British government to abolish the barbarous custom of *suttee*, or the burning of widows with their dead husbands. In 1832 he traveled to England, the very first Hindu who ever went to Europe, and in 1833 he died, and his sacred bones are interred in Bristol, the place where every Hindu pilgrim goes to pay his tribute of honor and reverence."

Mozoomdar described the social reforms for which the Brahmo Somaj has worked, such as inter-caste marriage and the remarriage of widows. It seeks inspiration from Bible and Koran as well as from the Hindu scriptures; it emphasizes both public morality and personal religion, "throwing ourselves entirely and absolutely upon the spirit of God and His saving love." It stands for "a new dispensation," for "the harmony of all religious prophecies and systems unto the glory of the one true, living God."

Rev. T. E. Slater, of Bangalore, spoke of "Concessions to Native Religious Ideas." "Hindus," said this speaker, "by instinct and tradition are the most religious people in the world."

The Parsees—the religious community of about 100,000 centering in Bombay, which preserves the ancient faith of Persia (whence their name is derived) as taught by Zoroaster—had an able spokesman in Jinanji Jamshodji Modi. "The greatest good," he observed, "that a Parliament of Religions, like the present, can do is to establish what Professor Max Müller calls 'that great golden dawn of truth that "there is a religion behind all religions." ' . . . If this Parliament of Religions does nothing else but spread the knowledge of this golden truth and thus make a large number of men happy, it will immortalize its name." In his scholarly paper he discussed the philosophy of Zoroastrianism. He emphasized the tolerance of the Parsees and their cordial relations with those of other faiths.

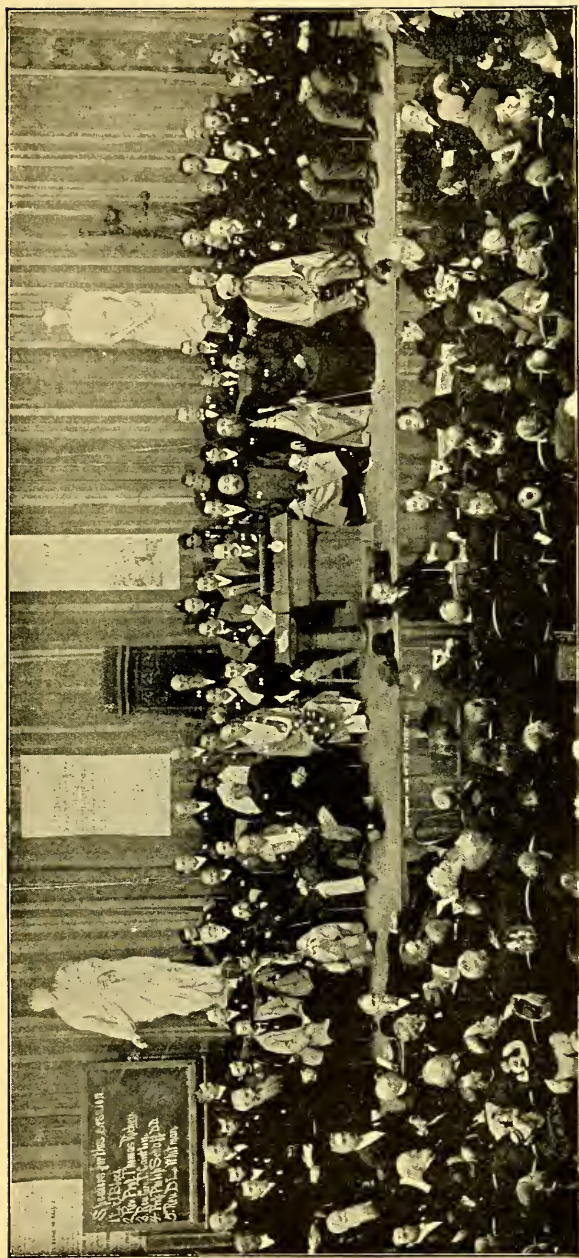
Sunday, the seventh day of the Parliament, there were sessions in the afternoon and evening, many of the delegates occupying Chicago pulpits in the morning. B. Nagarkar offered an informative paper on "The Work of Social Reform in India." He told of the social programs in which the Brahmo Somaj has been interested, emphasizing especially schools for both boys and girls. "The religion of the Brahmo Somaj," he asserted, "is essentially a religion of life—the living and life-giving religion of love to God and love to man. Its corner-stones are the fatherhood of God, the brotherhood of man, and the sisterhood of woman. . . . While we advocate that every religion needs to be reformed, we also most firmly hold that every reform in order that it may be a living and lasting power for good, needs to be based on religion."

On the eighth day, H. Dharmapala read the first section of his paper, "The World's Debt to Buddha," which he concluded on the following day.

On the eleventh day, Miss Serabji gave a talk on "The Women of India."

The next day, P. C. Mozoomdar spoke again. His subject was "The World's Religious Debt to Asia." He quoted Professor Tyn-dall as once having remarked to him, "True religion once came from the East, and from the East it shall come again."

Narasima Chaira, described as a learned Brahman who spoke



SCENE AT ONE OF THE SESSIONS OF THE PARLIAMENT

perfect English, was another speaker on the program of the twelfth day. In very plain terms he declared that Christian missionary effort in India had failed, if the conversion of Hindus be considered the test of success. He acknowledged freely the noble motives of the missionaries. "The religion which a conquering nation," he continued, "with an exasperating consciousness of superiority, condescendingly offers to the conquered, must ever be disgusting to the recipient, however good it may be." He thought that the missionaries would have a better chance of success if they adopted more of the humility of Christ's apostles.

On Sunday, September 25, Vichand R. Gandhi discussed "The Ethics and History of the Jains," and B. B. Nagarkar spoke on "The Spiritual Ideas of the Brahmo Somaj."

H. Dharmapala was on the program again the next day, with a paper entitled "Buddhism and Christianity." He showed the similarity, in many ways, between the moral teachings of the two religions, and referred to the evidence for the penetration of Buddhist teachings into the Greek world before the birth of Christ.

The final session, on the evening of September 27, brought to an impressive close the deliberations of the Parliament of Religions. There were brief farewell addresses by a long list of speakers.

Thus far I have avoided any mention, beyond the listing of his name among the representatives of India, of the most popular and dynamic figure in the Parliament. I have reference, of course, to the Swami Vivekananda. (In civil life his name was Narendra Nath Dutt, A. B. Vivekananda, his religious name as a Sannyasin, or Hindu monk, is Sanskrit and means "Bliss in Discrimination.")

At the sessions of the Parliament, after his first appearance, it was customary for the Chairman to keep Vivekananda until the end of the program in order to hold the audience through long and sometimes tiresome hours of reading and speaking by less gifted individuals. I have reserved Vivekananda until the close of this article, for the reason that had I mentioned him earlier, the temptation to forget about the other speakers would have been almost irresistible. To have slighted them, however, would have been unjust, as they were persons of character and ability.

Unfortunately, the space now remaining is quite inadequate for a suitable discussion of Vivekananda. But my readers will perhaps forgive me, by reason of the fact that in a previous issue of

The Open Court (December, 1925) I made this Hindu religious genius the subject of a special article. It is entitled "The Message and Influence of Vivekananda," and to it I must refer those who wish a more extensive review of the part which he played in the Parliament of Religions.

There I have told the romantic and colorful story of this modest yet eloquent and magnetic young Sannyasin, the favorite disciple of that great spirit, Sri Ramakrishna Paramahansa, with whom his name is indissolubly linked.

I have already alluded to the fact that the year 1933 is the centenary of the death of Ram Dohan Roy, the founder of the Brahmo Somaj or Theistic Church of India. It is also the centenary of the birth of Sri Ramakrishna Paramahansa, who died in 1886, and the seventieth anniversary of the birth of Vivekananda, whose life prematurely closed in 1902, when he was not yet forty.

Coming to Chicago without credentials, representing no special religious group, never having made a public address, and without even a prepared speech, he took the Parliament by storm. On the opening day he was seated with the other delegates on the platform. Again and again when the Chairman would have introduced him, he whispered "Let someone else speak first." At last, about five o'clock in the afternoon, he could escape no longer. I quote from my article to which I have referred:

When he was introduced, he looked out upon a yawning audience which had sat through a tiresome day of manuscript reading. He hesitated, nervously. Then a sudden access of power and eloquence came upon him, and he began to speak. As by an electric shock, the assembly became galvanized into eager attention. Before half a dozen words had left his lips, the great hall was shaking with storms of applause as in a political convention, and when his brief extemporaneous address was concluded everyone began asking, "Who is this brilliant, eloquent, handsome, magnetic young Hindu, the Swami Vivekananda?"

Probably never in any similar gathering did so short a speech create so profound an effect. It consisted of only six brief paragraphs. After saluting the audience as "Sisters and Brothers of America," he waited for two minutes until the applause subsided, and then began:

It fills my heart with joy unspeakable to rise in response to the warm and cordial welcome which you have given us.

I thank you in the name of the most ancient order of monks in the world; I thank you in the name of the mother of religions; and I thank you in the name of the millions and millions of Hindu people of all classes and sects.

My thanks, also, to some of the speakers on this platform who have told you that these men from far-off nations may well claim the honor of bearing to the different lands the idea of toleration. I am proud to belong to a religion which has taught the world both tolerance and universal acceptance. We believe not only in universal toleration, but we accept all religions as true.

I belong to a religion into whose sacred language, the Sanskrit, the word *exclusion* is untranslatable. I am proud to belong to a nation which has sheltered the persecuted and the refugees of all religions and all nations of the earth. We have gathered in our bosom the purest remnant of the Israelites, a remnant which came to Southern India and took refuge with us in the very year in which their holy temple was shattered to pieces by Roman tyranny. I belong to the religion which has sheltered and is still fostering the remnant of the grand Zoroastrian nation....

He went on to say:

The present convention, which is one of the most august assemblies ever held, is in itself a vindication, a declaration to the world of the wonderful doctrine preached in the *Gita*: "Whosoever comes to me, through whatsoever form I reach him, they are all struggling through paths that in the end always lead to me."

In conclusion, he pleaded for an end to sectarianism, bigotry, and fanaticism. "Had it not been for this horrible demon," he declared, "human society would be far more advanced than it is now. But its time has come, and I fervently hope that the bell that tolled this morning in honor of this convention may be the death-knell to all fanaticism, to all persecutions with the sword or the pen, and to all uncharitable feelings between persons wending their way to the same goal."

Vivikananda made several other addresses at the Parliament. He was one of the speakers at the closing session, and in his farewell remarks he said:

If the Parliament of Religions has shown anything to the world it is this: It has proved to the world that holiness, purity, and charity are not the exclusive possessions of any church in the world, and that every system has produced men and women of the most exalted character.

After the Parliament adjourned, Vivekananda was so overwhelmed with demands for speaking engagements and the conducting of class groups for the study of Hindu philosophy, that he was kept in the United States two and a half years. He met leaders of every type of religious thought, from orthodox clergymen to Ingersoll, the famous agnostic, who remarked to him that if a non-Christian religious teacher had ventured to visit America fifty years earlier he probably would not have escaped with his life. Friendly crowds greeted him everywhere. He spoke in Jewish synagogues as well as in Christian churches. In Detroit, on his second visit to America, the crush at the Temple Beth-El, where he was to speak, was so great that a panic was feared. At the Harvard Graduate School of Philosophy he easily held his own under a cross-fire of questions from probably the most sophisticated audience in America.

Returning home at last by way of Europe, on reaching India he received a series of ovations that a conquering general might have envied. His work in America had, however, proved a heavy tax upon his strength. In 1899 he was seriously ill. It was hoped that a sea voyage might restore his health; accordingly, he planned another visit to America. One who saw him when he spoke in Detroit, on July 4, 1900, remarked: "He had grown so thin, almost ethereal,—not long would that great spirit be imprisoned in clay." As it turned out, the end came on that very day two years later.

On his return to India, however, he was able to devote his brief remaining time to labor in the spreading of his gospel. An institution near Calcutta still serves as a center for the carrying on of Vivekananda's work. Vedanta societies sprang up in leading American cities. The education of Indian youth, particularly of the girls, was one of the objects closest to the heart of Vivekananda. "Education," he declared, "is what they need."

Though Vivekananda did a good deal of writing, he was, like many other spiritual leaders, most at home in extemporaneous address and informal conversation. Many of his talks were reported stenographically, but it is said that he did not care to look at the transcripts when they were handed to him for revision and approval. *Raja Yoga* (The Royal Way of Attainment) seems to be the only volume of his teachings published during his lifetime with his personal coöperation. It was printed in America, as were two other volumes of his authorship: *Karma Yoga* (The Way of Work)

and *Jnana Yoga* (The Way of Knowledge). *Raja Yoga* has gone through several editions and is still in print. After Vivekananda's death, his disciples (among whom were a number of Americans and English as well as natives of India) brought out a collected memorial edition, in seven large volumes, of Vivekananda's various works, covering an extraordinarily wide range of subject matter.

To Vivekananda's mission is largely due the growing penetration of Hindu philosophy into Occidental thought and literature. The process has been much hastened by the advent of the new physics, following the discovery of atomic structure and the consequent downfall of the old materialistic conception of the universe.

PARADOX IN MORALS

BY WILLIAM KILBORNE STEWART

"Moralität ohne Sinn für Paradoxie ist gemein."—

Friedrich Schlegel.

I

IF we are content to define morality as the norm of conduct approved in a given age, we may safely say that paradoxes of ethical theory arise but seldom, since morality is essentially a conservative thing. When such paradoxes do occur, they are usually of a striking, even sensational sort, and occasion prolonged and heated discussions. Ethical practice, necessarily something of a compromise, is always being insensibly modified, but men hesitate to scrutinize the foundations of morality.

But some fundamental questions at once suggest themselves. In what does the essence of morality really consist? Is it, as the derivation of the word indicates, custom? If so, what are we to say about the hero and the martyr? What are we to think of quixotism, of "lost causes, and forsaken beliefs, and unpopular names, and impossible loyalties"? Or, again, may it not be that the intelligent man has always to some extent fashioned his own moral code?

A contemporary American thinker of intellectual distinction has written: "Etymology to the contrary, I shall locate the essence of morality precisely in its contrast to custom." It was in some such spirit as this that Friedrich Schlegel once coined the aphorism which stands at the head of this article: "Morality without a sense for paradox is tinctured with vulgarity."

Let us turn for confirmation to the beginnings of Christianity. The spiritual atmosphere of the new religion is saturated with the notions of life in death, gain in loss, victory in defeat, freedom in bondage, wisdom in ignorance, strength made perfect in weakness, things of naught confounding the things that are. The dominant note is manifestly one of pronounced paradox. Here is, it would seem, a complete reversal of the values of the contemporary Gentile world, and even a radical recasting of the values cherished by the Pharisees and Sadducees. Poverty, suffering, humility, ignorance, and obloquy become virtues, the lowly are exalted and the high brought down.

Nevertheless, primitive Christianity does not stand in absolute ethical isolation. Apart from anticipations in Isaiah and other Old Testament prophets and from the possible influence of contemporaneous sects like the Essenes, there is an interesting parallel in the Graeco-Roman world. The so-called paradoxes of Stoicism, which are to be found in the writings of Cicero and Seneca, of Epictetus and Marcus Aurelius, bear no slight resemblance to those of the Gospel, especially in the uncompromising nature of the demands that are made. Like certain sayings in the Sermon on the Mount, they seem to flout ordinary experience. Virtue, the Stoics tell us, must be possessed entirely or not at all, and being eternal, once possessed can never be lost. The wise man of Seneca is alone free, happy, beautiful, alone possesses absolute wealth, alone is true priest and king. There is such a marked similarity between certain utterances of Seneca and those of St. Paul, that Lightfoot has suggested that St. Paul may have picked the paradoxes up from Greek professors of Stoicism in Tarsus. Cicero in a minor work has listed six of the Stoic "Paradoxa," as he calls them. Probably only one of these would seem indefensible to us: "That all sins are equal among themselves and all good deeds equal among themselves." There is, says Cicero, only one virtue—obedience to reason—and that is unshakable and eternal. Any dereliction of it is a vice, and we must judge of evil acts not by their results but by the vice they presuppose.

The paradoxical sayings of Epictetus are, for the most part, variants of the general Stoic paradox. Thus, Socrates was not in prison, because he chose to be there, and a man's prison is a place that he is in against his will. "The multitude say 'Only the free man may be educated,' but the philosophers say 'Only the educated are free.'" "May it never be my lot to have for friend a wise fool: nothing is more difficult to handle." Some one objects that the philosophers talk paradoxes. "But," replies Epictetus, "are there no paradoxes in the other arts? Nay, what is more paradoxical than to lance a man's eye that he may see? If one told this to a person unskilled in the physician's art, would he not laugh at him who said it? Is it surprising then that in philosophy also many truths seem paradoxical to those who are unskilled?...What a fine thing it is to be able to say to myself that I am now putting into action what other men only boast of in the lecture room and thereby win a name for paradox!"

II

For fifteen hundred years after the Gospel paradox was put forward, there was no attempt at a new ethical evaluation in the lands which had embraced Christianity. The moral precepts of Jesus, though perhaps never put into complete practice except by a rare St. Francis of Assisi, at least received official homage and must have modified incalculably the conduct of men.

The Renaissance brought a revival of paganism in men's lives, but only one man, Machiavelli, ventured to construct a new ethic based on pagan self-assertion in place of Christian self-sacrifice, and even he wrote for princes and not for ordinary humanity. About the same time, to be sure, Leonardo da Vinci was jotting down in his notebook—but solely for his own behoof—some arresting observations which plainly indicate his sense of the relativity of virtue and vice:

Lust is the cause of generation.

Appetite is the stay of life.

Fear or timidity is the prolongation of life.

Deceit is the preservation of the instrument.

Machiavelli wished to divorce politics from ethics. He uses constantly the word *virtù* in the older pagan sense of manly courage or self-reliant ability. He calls many things good in statecraft which Christianity would denounce as evil. "A wise prince," he says, "cannot nor ought not keep his faith given when the observance thereof turns to disadvantage and the occasions that make him promise are past." He lauds in his model prince the temper which does not shrink from "honorable frauds" and "glorious villanies." Sometimes he is half apologetic, as when he says: "Cruelties may be termed well-used (*if it be lawful to say well of evil*) that are put in practice only once for security's sake, not insisting therein afterwards." So far as I am aware, there is only one passage that seems to hint a complete ethical revaluation: "If the Christian religion calls for strength in us, it is for strength to suffer rather than to do. *This seems to have rendered the world weak.*"

A book which enjoyed a brisk notoriety in its day was Bernard Mandeville's *Fable of the Bees*, published originally in 1714 and issued in an excellent critical edition by a young American scholar in 1925. It is a rather short poem in doggerel, reinforced by prose essays. The theme, as the subtitle itself indicates, is that "Private Vices" are "Public Benefits."

To enjoy the world's conveniences,
 Be famed in war, yet live in ease,
 Without great vices, is a vain
 Utopia seated in the brain.

The bee-hive thrives as long as the private vices are practiced:

Millions, endeavoring to supply
 Each other's Lust and Vanity.

Thus every part was full of Vice,
 Yet the whole mass a Paradise.

But the hypocrites exclaim about their country's morals and pray the gods for honesty. Jove unexpectedly grants the prayer, and behold! through the loss of individual vices, the hive at the same time loses its greatness:

As Pride and Luxury decrease,
 So by degrees they leave the Seas:

All Arts and Crafts neglected lie;
 Content, the Bane of Industry,
 Makes 'em admire their homely Store
 And neither seek nor covet more.

Mandeville observes in one of his prose sections: "What we call evil in this world, moral as well as natural, is the grand principle that makes us social creatures, the solid basis, the light and support of all trades without exception. . . . The moment evil ceases, society must be spoiled if not totally destroyed." It is, therefore, as if he said: "If it be a vice by which the good of the world is achieved, by all means let us be vicious, for viciousness of this kind is not wickedness but virtue."

As a whimsical, professedly paradoxical work, Mandeville's "Fable" is not always to be taken with literal seriousness. None the less, it did create a furore in England and was vigorously combatted by such men as Berkeley, Law, Hutcheson, and various others; and Mandeville himself became a sort of Lord High Bogymen, much as Hobbes had been a little earlier and as John Wilkes and Thomas Paine were to become later. His paradox is produced, as Sir Leslie Stephen points out, by admitting with the divines that the pursuit of wealth is radically wrong and by arguing with the economists that it is essential to civilization. Of course the paradox loses much of its point as soon as it is admitted that in morals circumstances alter cases. And this was precisely the view that was being urged by Utilitarianism which had its begin-

nings about the same time. But from the standpoint of moral rigorism, Utilitarianism itself is, in the last analysis, immoral.

III

The great paradox of Rousseau, that civilization is inherently and incurably corrupt, that the arts and sciences have simply led to the moral debasement of men, that the only salvation is to return to the life of nature and of primitive simplicity—this paradox, I say, is *mutatis mutandis* a revival of the Gospel paradox. Once more, it is blessed are the poor, the meek, the simple-minded. Whether the idea came to Rousseau, as he himself claimed, in a flash of inspiration, or whether he deliberately adopted it as a paradox at the suggestion of Diderot, makes no difference for our purpose. The point is that he did come to hold the idea with stubborn and passionate conviction. But the necessary changes that I have alluded to between Jesus and Rousseau are important. Rousseau had no vision of a Kingdom of God on earth; he contemplated a continuing society. He did not advocate sexual asceticism. He emphasized, more than Jesus, the instincts, the expansive emotions, and the principle of freedom. What has been called the eleutheromania, the craze for freedom, of his followers, led them in many cases far from the Christian ethic. But not all those who are commonly included under the Rousseauistic formula were fanatics of liberty. Wordsworth and Coleridge, after their brief radical fling, grew tired of "unchartered freedom," and, feeling "the weight of chance desires," "the weight of too much liberty," came to perceive that

The sensual and the dark rebel in vain,
Slaves by their own compulsion.

It is in Blake that Rousseau's expansiveness is reincarnated—Blake who said "The road of excess leads to the palace of wisdom." Many of Blake's paradoxes have seemed cryptic and esoteric, but recent scholarship has shed much light on them and on Blake's mental processes in general. Blake, like Böhme and some other mystics, did not hesitate to synthesize all kinds of contradictions, and, to add to the confusion he frequently, like Nietzsche, inverted terminology. In his philosophy, Poetry or Imagination is the propulsive force of the mind, of which the Reason has not yet been able to render an exact account. This Poetic Imagination has created all great thought, which Reason has only curbed and restricted. Reason has set up an arbitrary code of moral values which it calls Good

and Evil. But the great mind instinctively rejects such standards. It sees that what is called Good is only the accepted conventions of life, whereas Evil is the vital energy which must burst these conventions and remould life. "All the greatest men, including Jesus and Milton, have been evil in this meaning of the word. These men act according to their own impulses, ignoring all established laws of morality; for all such generalized laws are oppression, since each man is an individual. They follow every instinct to the most complete form of self-expression, lest they breed reptiles of the brain." As Blake said to Crabb Robinson: "What are called vices in the natural world are the highest sublimities in the spiritual world." This is his famous *Marriage of Heaven and Hell*.

Blake's "Proverbs of Hell" (some of them immensely stimulating paradoxes) are to be interpreted in this way. Since Evil means Energy, Hell, the home of Evil, is the source of Energy. And so he can say:

"If the fool would persist in his folly he would become wise."

"Prisons are built with stones of Law, brothels with bricks of Religion."

"The tigers of wrath are wiser than the horses of instruction."

"He who desires but acts not, breeds pestilence."

"Sooner murder an infant in its cradle than nurse unacted desires."

"No virtue can exist without breaking the Ten Commandments. Jesus was all virtue and acted from impulse, not from rules."

Walt Whitman in his poem *Starting from Paumanok* is fairly close to Blake:

"I make the poem of evil also—I commemorate that also;
I myself am just as much evil as good, and my nation is—
And I say there is in fact no evil."

Browning also is not far from the same standpoint in his lines:

"And the sin I impute to each frustrate ghost
Is the unlit lamp and the ungirt loin,
Though the end in sight were a vice, I say."

Thoreau wrote in his Journal: "We cannot well do without our sins; they are the highway of our virtues." Herman Melville asks in his novel *Pierre*: "Who does not feel more warmly to the Lord of Evil himself than toward a petty shopkeeper who daily practices all the discreet and serviceable virtues?"

The philosophers, indeed, have consistently maintained that the true meaning of good is to be found in the overcoming of evil. Kant said that the virtues which did not contend against perverted will were, if not *splendida vitia*, *glänzende Laster*, at least *glänzende Armseligkeiten*. And for Hegel virtue is the triumph over vice. Holiness is the consciousness of sin with the consciousness of victory over sin. "Die Tugend is der vollendete Kampf."

IV

During the last fifty years as the supernatural sanctions of morality have faded in men's minds, there has been a sharp renewal of the ethical paradox. I can select only three strains which I regard as the most significant: the attack on "idealism" begun by Ibsen and continued by men like Samuel Butler and Bernard Shaw, the new sex morality of Havelock Ellis, and the teaching of Nietzsche.

There is something very disconcerting at first in Ibsen's assault upon that cherished word "ideal." But his drift soon becomes clear. "Don't use that foreign word, Ideals," says one of his characters, "We have the good old native word, lies." If by the "ideal" is meant the vision of what one thinks ought to be, then, indeed, Ibsen had no quarrel either with the word or the thing, but was, on the contrary, an undiluted idealist himself. But a so-called "ideal" is too often a mask for concealing an unpleasant truth, a mist of beautiful words which we draw about a thing until we can no longer see it clearly. These sham ideals are the dregs of an exhausted morality. Against them Ibsen waged incessant warfare, believing that society was sick unto death so long as it remained under their spell. Among these false ideals he reckoned the innocence of girlhood (for which read ignorance or possibly hypocrisy), the notion of the womanly woman, the notion that woman should be full of self-sacrifice and self-surrender, romantic love between the sexes (which Shaw calls "lust dressed up in its Sunday clothes"), the profession that love is always ardent, as if it never burned low, that family life is necessarily beautiful and that the members of a family are naturally bound together by ties of affection. To these Bernard Shaw would add such pseudo-ideals as the beatific contentment of poverty, the glory of war, etc. Ibsen and Shaw have tried to set up honest, vital truths in the place of these masks which only cover what is false or hollow.

Here are a few typical paradoxical sayings of Ibsen, due allowance being made for the possibility that some of the speeches may have been intended dramatically:

"When a truth is hoary with years, it is in a fair way to become a lie."

"A normally constituted truth will live, say, at the very outside, twenty years. . . . But such truths are always shockingly emaciated."

"Wisdom in extremes is folly;

Cowardice in flower is cruelty;

Truth, when exaggerated, is but wisdom backwards."

"One day it will be clearly seen that the greatest victory lies in defeat."

"The strongest man in the world is the man who stands alone."

For Shaw, as for Ibsen, the true ideal is the free development of personality. Anything which thwarts that is evil, though it bear a sounding name and be hallowed by age and religious sanction. His paradoxical epigrams are, like the man himself, flaring and audacious. But though intended to be shocking, most of them seem to me to be neither subtle nor very searching, but rather to merit the description which someone has given of them as statements of the obvious in terms of the scandalous. Many of them are jibes at the cant phrases of Christian moralizing. Thus:

"The only golden rule is that there are no golden rules."

"Do not love your neighbor as yourself. If you are on good terms with yourself, it is an impertinence; if on bad, an injury."

"Do not do unto others as you would that they should do unto you. Their tastes may not be the same."

"Never resist temptation; prove all things; hold fast that which is good."

"Every step in progress means a duty repudiated and a Scripture torn up."

"The love of virtue always begins with a hatred of morality."

Some of Samuel Butler's ethical paradoxes follow:

"It is as immoral to be too good as to be too anything else."

"If you really wish to understand virtue you must be subvicious."

"How often do we not see children ruined through the virtues, real or supposed, of their parents. Truly, He visiteth

the virtues of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation."

"It is all very well for mischievous writers to maintain that we cannot serve God and Mammon. Granted that it is not easy, but nothing that is worth doing ever is easy. Easy or difficult, possible or impossible, not only has the thing got to be done, but it is exactly in doing it that the whole duty of man consists."

We may take Havelock Ellis as a fitting representative of the new sex-ethics. After what Edward Carpenter called the "impure hush" of Victorianism (Bernard Shaw referred to it as "indecency's conspiracy of silence"), this franker and more truly civilized attitude toward sex must have seemed doubly paradoxical. If Jesus entirely repudiated sex, as I believe to have been the case, then his doctrine is balanced by the equally drastic counter-paradox of Ellis who has taught that sex is vital and essential, wholesome and beautiful, even in many of its alleged aberrations; that nothing which happens in sex-love between man and woman is to be called common or unclean. This, I take it, is substantially the point of view of the rising generation in Europe and America.

In point of fact, the history of Christianity in its relations to sex is sadly in need of a candid investigation. The teachings of Jesus are explicit enough, no matter how hierarchy, theologians, and scholars have sought to evade or soften the issue, and the statements of St. Paul abound in the same sense: all sexuality is sin. Priestly celibacy and monastic vows of chastity are the direct and logical outcome of this primitive Christian attitude. The author of "The Imitation of Christ" wrote: "Be not familiar with any woman; but commend all good women in general to God." Tolstoy, who perhaps more than any other modern tried to repeat and reinforce the spiritual paradoxes of Jesus, said: "He who regards woman—above all his wife—with sensuality, already commits adultery with her." And he comments on certain passages in the Gospels: "The Christian ideal is not marriage; marriage from a Christian point of view, is an element not of progress but of downfall; love, with all that precedes and follows it, is an obstacle to the true human ideal." He adds that the ideal, by its very definition, is incapable of complete realization; it is an appeal to the heroic energies of the soul. Tolstoy's *Kreutzer Sonata* is the legitimate descendant of such texts as Matthew V, 28, and XIX, 11 and 12.

Christendom in all its divisions has departed startlingly from these teachings. How little of the primitive Christian attitude did Luther apprehend, when, in the profane exuberance of his recoil from asceticism, he called the monks and nuns who had renounced their vows "blessed robbers," and remarked that "True chastity is in lust, and the more unclean the lust, the more beautiful the chastity!" Clemens Brentano, a Roman Catholic, who showed the typical vacillation and self-indulgence of the German romanticists, said: "It sounds paradoxical, but it is nevertheless true, that he who is born to voluptuousness and does not practice it, leads a truly sinful life. Nothing is less chaste than a passionate girl who remains virtuous. And should a voluptuous sinner repent of her passions, she would forthwith lose her innocence." Even the more cautious Coleridge once suggested that a treatise might be written in praise of the moral elevation of Gargantua and Pantagruel. It "would make the church stare and the conventicle groan, and yet would be truth and nothing but truth."

Nietzsche's ethical paradoxes are not only iconoclastic, as befits his "transvaluation of all values," they are also phrased with a strident insistency that has dinned them into people's consciousness and made them, so to speak, international property. Such winged words as "beyond good and evil," "the blond beast," "master-morality and slave-morality" served their turn valiantly for him in his campaign to destroy those twin-evils, Christianity and democracy, as a prelude to the establishment of the new culture which was to be based on the primitive instincts. Nietzsche is one of the world's greatest paradoxers. It is interesting to observe how characterizations of him are almost inevitably cast in a paradoxical form. Georg Brandes called him an "aristocratic radical"; others have called him the "murderer of God," a "God-intoxicated blasphemer," and an "Epicurean Stoic," "the Pascal of Paganism," a "mystic of rationalism." Nietzsche called himself an "Immoralist der Tugend," investing the word "Tugend" with the masculine meaning of Machiavelli's "virtù." He proclaimed the ego holy and selfishness blessed. Gut (good) is not opposed to Böse (evil) but to Schlecht (despicable). "Man," he said, "must become better and more evil." But Christianity, that slave-insurrection in morals, had substituted for the old pagan virtues of strength and efficiency the ethics of the oppressed, the suffering, the played-out, the unnerved. Therefore, Christianity and its modern

concomitants, democracy and socialism, are *schlecht*; they are the refuge of the failures in life. To revert to the old values—master morality and the aristocracy of excellence—to inculcate the will to power, to preach tragic optimism as the mood of strong men, was Nietzsche's mission. All his most revolutionary ethical paradoxes take their appropriate place in this setting:

"Ye shall love peace as a means to new wars. And the short peace better than the long."

"Ye say, a good cause will hallow every war? I say unto you! It is the good war which halloweth every cause."

"Ye have heard how it was said of old 'Blessed are the peace-makers, for they shall be called the children of God.' But I say unto you, 'Blessed are the war-makers, for they shall be called the children of Wotan who is greater than Jehovah.'"

"Not peace of mind, but more power; not peace at all, but war; not virtue, but efficiency. The weak and the ill-conditioned shall go to the wall, and we shall help them to do it. What is more harmful than any vice? Active sympathy with all these misbegotten and weak."

"I call Christianity the one immortal blemish of mankind."

Any consideration of latter-day morality would be incomplete without a reference to one of the most striking symptoms of the modern attitude—the loss of the sense of sin—though the matter perhaps concerns theology and mysticism more than it does ethics. The much quoted lines of Edward Fitzgerald's version of the "Rubaiyat" express the change in trenchant paradox:

"Oh Thou who Man of baser Earth didst make,
And e'en with Paradise devise the Snake,
For all the Sin with which the Face of Man is blackened,
Man's Forgiveness give—and take."

Swinburne proclaimed that statement to be the summit of human philosophy, and an American novelist of the present generation has declared that it epitomizes admirably the mature conviction of the modern age.

RELIGIOUS AWAKENINGS IN MODERN CATHOLICISM

BY BERNARD E. MELAND

THE Catholic churches in Germany are apparently being stirred by the same religious restlessness that is urging reform among the German Protestants. Evidences of this restlessness may be seen all along the line. Theologically, it is asserting itself in the form of an Evangelical Movement, as Friedrich Heiler calls it. In many places, Bible reading among the laity has become a commonplace. This has all come about within the past quarter century. Prior to that time, comparatively few Catholic laymen had any first-hand knowledge of Scripture. Heiler relates that during his youth, it would have been quite out of the ordinary to find a Bible in his father's home. At fifteen years of age, while a student in the Gymnasium, he owned a Greek New Testament; but this, he adds, was decidedly against both custom and church law. Today, in contrast to those years, the New Testament is read in the original text in the Gymnasium, and in other higher schools, the translation is read. In Catholic youth circles, and in some parishes, Bible study hours of the evangelical type are conducted, and in many places, particularly in cities like Cologne, large crowds attend.

Another evangelical tendency in German Catholicism is a form of Christocentric piety which urges that "the Gospel of Jesus," not dogma, liturgy or canon-law, shall be the highest norm for preaching and the moral life. Johannes Hessen, professor of philosophy in the University of Cologne, and one of the leaders of this movement, has set forth the basic principles of this faith in a little book, entitled, *Gotteskindschaft*, in which he says that "the child of God, in direct communion with the Heavenly Father, enjoys a complete inner freedom; a freedom which releases him from that sense of being under slavish obedience to law." When the Church assumes the form of a legal organization, imposing laws upon its people and compelling their obedience, Hessen continues, it becomes nothing more than a Cross for its people to bear. At the close of his book, Hessen includes prayers and responses that are thoroughly evangelical in spirit.

A more influential expression of this Evangelical Movement is

found in the writings of Josef Wittig.¹ In his book, *Die Erlösten*, he undertakes to set forth four basic doctrines which he believes the Roman Church has obscured. One is the priesthood of believers. The Scriptural saying, "Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst," Wittig says implies that the laity, fully as much as the official priests, constitute the church, and this fact should be made apparent in its celebrations. Another fundamental which Wittig feels should have more emphasis is the certainty and joy of salvation. On first thought, one might designate this emphasis a belated Lutheran appeal, but Wittig reminds us that it is Augustinian. A third evangelical idea stressed by Wittig is the Augustinian maxim: *Non solum christiani, sed Christi sumus*. ("We are not only Christ's believers; we, ourselves, are Christ.") Every true Christian, he says, is a representative of Christ; therefore the true Christian life must be a Christ-like life. His fourth fundamental relates to the church. For Wittig, the church is "not just an inflexible, legal institution, but an all-embracing fellowship of love." The legal conception of the church, he adds, 'tho commonly accepted as the historical one, is but a small reflection of what the Church really is. This larger view, he urges, must not be lost sight of.

Heiler says that Wittig's message has found a vigorous response in German Catholicism. "Men and women, young and old, laymen and priests, even theologians and bishops," he writes, "have shown an enthusiasm for him."²

A further reflection of the religious stirring in modern Catholicism is the Catholic Youth Movement. These Catholic youth have much in common with the other branches of the German Youth Movement; but they are distinctive, as one of their own leaders has said, in seeking "to reawaken the ancient soul of the German people, long buried beneath modern materialism and *Staatskultur*, and historically and psychologically nearer to Catholicism than to the super-imposed teaching and institutions of Luther."³ As Heiler

¹Some of his important writings are: *Die Erlösten*, Hochland, 1922; *Die Kirche im Waldwinkel*, Kempten, 1924; "Die Kirche als Auswirkung und Selbstverwirklichung der christlichen Seele," 2. katholisches Sonderheft der *Tat*, 1922, 13ff; "Das allgemeine Priestertum," 3. katholisches Sonderheft der *Tat*, 1923, 22ff; *Das Leben Jesu in Palästina*, Schlesien und anderswo, Kempten, 1925, 2. Aufl. Gotha 1927; *Das Alter der Kirche*, Kapitel und Akten, Berlin 1927.

²*Im Ringen um die Kirche*, p. 187.

³*The Mind of Post-War Germany and Other European Studies*, by C. H. Herford, Oxford University Press, London: 1927. p. 43.

puts it, the Catholic Youth Movement differs from other phases in that its members remain within the objective and supernatural fellowship of the Church. In this movement, he continues, German individualism and Roman objectivism are intermingled and harmonized. "The idealistic Romanticism of the German soul of youth is bound up with the Catholic Youth Movement through the conception of form, ennobled and clarified by the spirit of Christian antiquity, as it has already taken form in the Roman liturgy."⁴ The Catholic Youth Movement, therefore, is a peculiar blend of modern and ancient ideals: on the one hand, it joins with modern non-Catholic youth in their common aspirations for the current cultural cause of youth; on the other hand, it joins with antiquity in its appreciation of traditional forms.

This religious awakening in modern Catholicism is even more clearly evident in the new theology that is appearing among some of its prominent thinkers. "Catholic Modernism," writes Heiler, "such as appeared in the works of Loisy, Tyrrell, and Friedrich von Hügel, during the critical period, is dead today. The only phase of the great Catholic reform movement of the twentieth century that has survived is the theology of Herman Schnell, which never ceases to inspire followers."⁵ The new theology in German Catholicism can hardly be called a form of modernism; rather, it is a renaissance of the early Christian faith. In fact the entire reform spirit in all its manifestations in present-day Catholicism is inspired by an idealization of antiquity, and thus takes the form of a back to the Fathers tendency.

The reviving of Augustinianism in Roman Catholic theology is of particular significance. Johannes Hessen, one exponent of this trend,⁶ sets the Augustinian theory of knowledge and doctrine of God in opposition to the "extreme rationalism" of the Aristotelian-Thomistic theory of knowledge and metaphysics. Karl Adam,⁷ an-

⁴*Im Ringen um die Kirche*, p. 189.

⁵*Ibid.*, p. 190.

⁶Johannes Hessen's works include: *Die unmittelbare Gotteserkenntnis nach dem heiligen Augustinus*, Paderborn 1919; *Der Augustinische Gottesbeweis*, Münster 1920; *Augustinische und thomistische Erkenntnislehre*, Paderborn 1921; *Patristische und scholastische Philosophie*, Breslau 1922; *Augustinus und seine Bedeutung für die Gegenwart*, Stuttgart 1924; *Die Weltanschauung des Thomas von Aquin*, Stuttgart 1926; *Erkenntnistheorie*, Berlin 1922.

⁷Karl Adam's important works are: *Glaube und Glaubenswissenschaft*, 2. Aufl. Rothenburg 1923; *Das Wesen des Katholizismus*, Augsburg 1924. (From Friedrich Heiler's *Im Ringen um die Kirche*)

other representative of this trend, and, in Heiler's estimation, "perhaps the most prominent Catholic theologian in Germany," introduces basic Augustinian ideas into his doctrine of the Church and in his conception of the value of the sacrament.

Not less significant than the renewing of Augustinianism is, what Heiler calls "the trend back to pre-vatican theology of the nineteenth century." A theologian by the name of Möhler seems to be the moving spirit here. His outstanding publication is *Die Einheit der Kirche oder das prinzip der Katholizismus*. Like Newman, Möhler is *pre-vatican* in his conception of the church. Throughout he takes the guidance of the ancient church fathers. Newman, according to Heiler, was inclined against dogmatizing on papal infallibility and thus gave this dogma a very free meaning in his interpretation. Möhler goes a step further in his conception of the church by eliminating the doctrine of infallibility altogether. There is an amusing touch of irony in that fact. Heiler relates that when the publisher of Möhler's book, *Einheit der Kirche*, presented a volume to Pope Pius XI, the pope spoke with admiration of the great German theologian and regretted that he had not read that theologian's work. In Heiler's estimation, this book is the most admirable exhibition of the genuine ancient Catholic conception of the church.

Another interesting development in German Catholic circles is a growing appreciation for the Protestant reformer, Martin Luther. The dean of the Regensburger cathedral, Kiefl, published a volume declaring Martin Luther's religious experience to be the root of a new philosophic outlook.⁸ Another Catholic writer, Johannes Albani, pleaded for a Catholic understanding of Luther, saying that if the Catholic Church would accord Luther the recognition due him, a great confessional schism in Germany would be healed. An eminent Jesuit said that if one were to gather together some of the great utterances from Luther's work, he would find them to be genuinely Catholic. Friedrich Heiler, who was a Catholic before he turned to the Lutheran Church, might also be cited as an example of this interest in Luther among Catholics. For his present enthusiasm for the Reformer and his thorough understanding of Luther's teachings, indicate that he lived with the man and his works long before he formally became his follower.

⁸Martin Luthers religiöse Psyche als Wurzel eines neuen philosophischen Weltbildes, Hochland 1917-18.

The new religious spirit in modern Catholicism is also taking a practical turn in the form of social movements. The Catholic Church in Germany is doing a vigorous job of welfare work, particularly in the larger cities, as records will reveal.⁹ But it is also asserting its influence upon the social and public affairs of the country through its social leaders. One outstanding leader is J. Ude, professor of theology at Graz, who has shown such zeal for applying Christian principles in public, political and international life, that he has been called "the Savonarola from Graz." There seems to be a very decided trend back to a Christian Socialism among the Catholic social leaders, according to Heiler; notwithstanding various tendencies to hold fast to some form of a Christian view of property, and the very marked refusal to concur with the Marxian world view. One particularly significant social effort among the Roman Catholics is the Catholic Peace Movement, which has its greatest following among the Catholic youth.¹⁰ What the Stockholm Conference has outlined as its ideal on *Life and Work*, says Heiler, is in a large measure being actualized through the social efforts of the Roman Catholics.

One of the most remarkable of all movements in present-day Roman Catholicism, however, Heiler thinks, is the movement toward Union, which has its headquarters in the Benedictine Cloister at Amay-sur-Meuse in Belgium. This effort toward union has grown out of a strong sense of guilt over the separation between the Roman and the Eastern Church. These leaders feel that the Catholic Church can realize its perfect fulfilment only when the Eastern Church, the Evangelical Church and the Roman Church unite in becoming one Universal Catholic Church. They are opposed to achieving this ideal through proselyting methods. They seek rather to bring about a gradual reunion through inner mutual understanding and regard. The leaders of the Movement Toward Union recognize that the strong Roman character of the Catholic Church stands in the way of such universal union. They, therefore, insist that "Catholic" and "Latin" are not equivalent terms. The Catholic Church, they declare, has room for the cultural peculiarities of all nations. They appear to be consciously working toward the de-Latinizing of the Catholic Church. Their program is so cordial and forward-looking

⁹See *Notizen, Weltstadtbetrachtung*, Berlin 1924ff; gesammelt Berlin 1927, 10 Hefte.

¹⁰For a description of this movement, see *Weltkirche und Weltfriede, Katholische Gedanken zum Kriegs- und Friedensproblem*, Augsburg, 1924.

that occasionally Protestants have looked upon it as a cunning move or a snare which papal agents are directing toward non-Roman Christians in the effort to bring them under papal control. But Heiler insists that these misgivings are unwarranted. These sons of St. Benedict, he says, would not lend themselves to such trickery; they are moved by a pure love for the unity of all Christians.

Even in the mission field, among Roman Catholics, there are signs of a new spirit at work. Rome, for example, has complied with the wishes of the Eastern Catholics in consecrating native bishops in India and in China. Still more significant, Heiler thinks, is the resuming of the "method of adaptation," so vigorously condemned by Catholics in China and in India a hundred years ago. Twenty-five years ago, he says, any attempt to compromise with native cultures would have been severely condemned; but today, Jesuit and non-Jesuit mission theorists alike in the West, along with missionaries in India, have taken up the cry for an Indian Gospel of Christianity and the de-Europeanizing of Catholic Missions. A missionary by the name of Zacharias, who left the Lutheran Church to become an Anglo-catholic, later joining the Roman Church, is working toward the formation of an Indian branch of the Benedictine Order. Thus Roman Catholic Missions, Heiler concludes, are gradually breaking away from deeply-rooted methods of the past that have been found faulty.

Perhaps the most active and far-reaching religious movement in modern Catholicism is the liturgical movement. This movement began in the Benedictine Cloister at Solesme more than a decade ago under the leadership of Abt. Dom Gueranger. From there it spread to the Benedictine Cloister in Germany. For a time it remained more or less confined within the walls of the Order. After the war had ended, its influence was carried into the farthest provinces of the Catholic areas among clerics and people alike. Since then it has continued to be a vital force in the church life of the Roman Catholics.

The emphasis of the liturgical movement is decidedly inward. Its theme is that "*The Church on earth shall not be a conquering, but a praying church.*" It aims to bring the mystical conception of the Church forward. As Heiler puts it, "The Pauline-Johannine mystical fellowship that lived on in the mystical fellowship of the ancient church fathers and liturgy, is the core of the newly awakened liturgical piety." Holding as it does to this view of the

Church, it naturally concerns itself almost wholly with the liturgical and sacramental life of the Church.

This movement is a conscious trend away from the medieval and post-trinitarian Church and a return to the ancient Church. The leaders of the liturgical movement look upon the Aristotelian intellectualism of the Scholastics as a weakening of the ancient church mysteries, and upon the individualism of the medieval, and still more of the post-trinitarian mystics, as a weakening of the ancient church's conception of fellowship. For that reason, they aim to dissuade their Catholic contemporaries from indulging in the numerous forms of individual piety instituted during the middle ages and the post-trinitarian period, with its many forms of saint-worship and devotions to the Virgin Mary, and to call them back to the prayers of the ancient Church, to liturgy with Biblical reading, its Psalms, hymns, etc. It aims to rouse them from their morbid worship of *Pietas* to the *rex regum et dominus dominantium*, which, as they say, Christ also revealed upon the Cross. They seek to emphasize, not his Crown of Thorns, but his Crown of Victory. The leaders of the liturgical movement see in medieval piety, already the awakening of Protestant individualism and subjectivism. This accounts for the marked divergence between the Benedictines and the Jesuits. Their ideals of piety differ greatly. The Benedictines stress group worship; the Jesuit's "center of gravity," as Heiler states it, "rests in the training of the individual will." To many of the Benedictines, therefore, the Jesuits appear to be Protestant-Catholics: Catholics who propagate the Roman Catholic Church ideas by means of Protestant individualism.

This trend back to the ancient church and its form of worship, brings the liturgical movement into close accord with the Eastern Church, for the Church of the East has preserved the ancient traditions in much truer form than has the Latin Church of the West. As evidence of this common tie between the modern liturgists and the Eastern Church, Heiler tells of sending a book by the Russian Arseniew, *The Eastern Church and Mystery*, to one of the leaders of the liturgical movement. In returning the book to Heiler, he wrote: "I find in here the same ideas that I, myself, represent."

The liturgical movement does not repudiate the ideals of the Western Church entirely, for while it emphasizes the pneumatic conception of the Church in worship, it continues to hold to the Latin form of liturgy. One might say that in its worship program,

it retains the Western form while incorporating the Eastern spirit. The liturgical leaders, to be sure, have no interest in bringing about a breach with the papacy. Nevertheless, as Heiler points out, their position does tend to precipitate an irreconcilable tension, growing out of the inherent difference between the pneumatic and the juridical conception of the Church. It is hoped, says Heiler, that the liturgical movement may gradually succeed in softening the inflexible juridical Roman system. In fact, it is the boast of the liturgical leaders that in a hundred years, they will have completely transformed and reformed the Roman Church.

The liturgical movement is successfully applying its ideal to church worship in many instances, and as a result is transforming the church service from a performance in which the priest is the sole actor, to a service of worship in which the congregation actively participates. Moreover it is unifying the church service. It is no uncommon sight to see a number of little side services in Catholic Churches occurring while the priest is saying Mass for a larger congregation. The liturgical leaders hope to do away with these side services and to bring the entire company of worshipers into a common experience of worship.

The effort to make the Catholic service more of a congregational act, has, of course, necessitated educating the people for participating in the ritual. Today, Heiler says, the Mass-books, translated in the vernacular, are in the hands of thousands of the Catholic laity. In addition, recently translations of the Roman vespers as well as complete and abridged translations of the Roman Breviary have been distributed among the people. In this way the Roman Catholic worshipers are becoming more and more acquainted with the Prayer Book and likewise are becoming more intelligent participators in the service of worship. Heiler tells of a young Roman Catholic girl about nine years old who "understood all of the text of the Missal and the Commentary with astounding certainty."

But the liturgical movement is not content merely with making the text accessible to the people. It seeks to educate the congregation for worship in other ways. In many places, Heiler says, the congregation sings the responses instead of the choir. In the reciting of the Mass, particularly in student centers, a part of the text is spoken by the priest, and answered by the entire congregation. The silent prayer of the priest is either engaged in quietly by the congregation, or (except the words of consecration) is repeated

aloud in the German language by a *Vorbeter*. Frequently the German Mass is combined with the Latin service. While the priest quietly reads the Mass at the altar, the *Vorbeter* relates the liturgical prayers in the German language, and the congregation answers him. This combining of the German and Latin services is by no means satisfactory as yet, Heiler says, but it reveals an earnest effort to make the participation of the congregation in the eucharistic church service possible. The ultimate aim of the liturgical movement is to establish the celebration of the liturgy in the language of the people. When they have done so, the leaders believe, they will have created a service of worship in which the worshipers will experience direct and vital relations with God, as did the Christians of ancient times.

Congregational activity finds a particularly fine expression, Heiler says, in the resuming of the ancient Christian custom of going to sacrifice. Each participant brings his own holy wafer to the altar as his offering. Also, the *par* (the kiss of peace) no longer remains a priestly ceremony, but is made the ceremonial testimony of Christian brotherhood for the whole congregation. Other outward forms of the ancient church are also being restored. In many places, Heiler says, the ancient Christian *mensa* is being restored. The priest who celebrates the Eucharist, stands behind the holy table with his face turned toward the congregation. Here again one sees the effort to minimize the rôle of the priest and to accentuate the place of the congregation. Above all, it is working toward achieving the communion of the whole congregation.

Many evangelical Christians, Heiler says, are beginning to see in these new Roman services a form of worship that is familiar to them, and one in which they, too, can take an active part, which is a further suggestion that worship may really be the way toward unity. Thus, Heiler concludes, "A liturgical springtime has come upon the Roman Church. In the midst of the juridical torpidity of the Church of Rome, there has occurred a Renaissance of the ancient church!"

One should not be misled, however, into thinking that these religious awakenings represent the spiritual outlook of the official Roman Church. Rome has always looked with disfavor upon change and new awakenings, and in time has registered its intolerance. So it is in the present situation. All of the various reform movements have sought recognition by the Church, or at least to be

allowed to continue their work unmolested; but to no avail. The Evangelical Movement was branded when the Roman authorities excommunicated one of its leaders, Joseph Wittig, and placed his writings on the Index. The Youth Movement has been held in constant suspicion. At one time Rome threatened to break it up. Recently a counter-movement, known as "Neudeutschland" (New Germany) has been organized by Jesuit leaders for the purpose of directing the vigor of youth into more favorable channels. The theological awakening is being strictly watched. Recently two books written by Johannes Hessen were forbidden to be read in Cologne and Münster. The social movement is continually meeting with misunderstanding and opposition at the hands of Church authorities. Professor Ude, leader of the movement, has been forbidden by the Bishop of Graz to teach theology or to engage in public address, and an appeal has been sent to Rome to confirm the bishop's decree. The Movement Toward Union has received a set-back through the *Encyclica Mortalium animas*, its dictum being that the *patres unionis* is to be confined to Russian exiles. Work among the Orthodox Russians, Anglicans, or Protestants has been strictly forbidden. And the program of the liturgical movement has been greatly curtailed. For example, the German Diocese has forbidden combining the Latin and German services, and the Benedictine leaders of the movement have been invited to Rome to defend themselves.

Thus it would seem, Heiler laments, that all of these movements, so potent with vitality, are destined to die under the intolerance of the Roman system. But this dare not happen, he continues, for in this conflict, there is something more than orthodoxy versus heresy at stake. It is a mighty struggle between two great forces: an all-inclusive universal Catholicism on the one hand, and a cold, narrow Roman imperialism on the other. Non-Roman Christians cannot be mere spectators of this great struggle, Heiler warns. For all that occurs in the Roman Church affects the other churches. And furthermore, all the movements now stirring in Roman Catholicism exercise a strong, altho indirect, influence upon Anglicanism and Protestantism. Thus non-Roman Christians cannot be indifferent toward their fate. Their attitude can only be one of sympathy and concern. They must seek to make contact with them and to encourage them in their plight. But they must not encourage them in their protest against Rome, nor urge them to "Break from Rome,"

Heiler warns. Were these methods successful, Protestantism long ago would have brought about the undoing of Rome. Rome will not be conquered through protest, Heiler declares; but only through an appeal to a larger Catholicism. The spirit of love, so actively asserting itself in these religious movements, must combine with the spirit of love manifest among non-Roman Christians to promote this appeal. Under the persisting influence of this interceding love, Heiler is confident that the Roman Walls of injustice cannot stand, for, he says, love always finds its way into the hearts of Christian brethren. With this spirit of love steadily at work within it, the transformation of the Roman Church is inevitable. Even it will in time, he concludes, yield to the dictum of the Apocalypse: "Behold I make all things new!"

SPENGLER AND THE NEW PESSIMISM

BY VICTOR S. YARROS

PESSIMISTS we have always had with us. It has been affirmed, indeed, that no intelligent and well-informed man can avoid a pessimistic philosophy or attitude. His pessimism, it is true, need not affect his politics, his social relations, his personal ethics. The cultivated pessimist is generally a Stoic and a Meliorist. He believes in the expediency of virtue, in the beauty of goodness and simplicity. He finds satisfaction in what is called altruism, since experience teaches him that the highest human pleasure is derived from ministering to the worthy pleasure of others—including strangers whose plight arouses his pity and sympathy.

But we are concerned here with the scientific and philosophical grounds or warrants for pessimism. In particular, we are concerned with what may be called Spenglerism, after the German scholar and prophet who in some remarkable works has confidently predicted the decline and fall of western civilization—and, by implication, of such Oriental civilizations as imitate and adopt the ways and institutions of the West—and the reversion of advanced societies to barbarism and some form of autocracy.

Spengler's fatalism and pessimism have been attributed to the post-war difficulties and soul-trying crises of the German republic. It has been pointed out that nowhere outside of Germany has Spengler found disciples and adherents. His is said to be the voice of a weary and disheartened people. But Spengler's views are not an aftermath of the war. It seems certain that had that catastrophic struggle never taken place, or had it ended in a victory for the central powers, Spengler would still have arrived at the depressing conclusions that are his. His philosophy, his social metaphysics, his reading of human history do not impress the unprejudiced reader as having been made to order.

But, be this as it may, his assertions and generalizations have to be considered without speculative references to their origin or genesis. The questions he raises are profound and far reaching, and the duty of critical thinkers is to determine how far he succeeds in proving his affirmations or in establishing, at least, presumptions in their favor.

We should be grateful to Spengler for the condensed summary of his formidable and erudite work, *The Decline of the West*. True, it will not satisfy the serious student, who demands evidence and demonstration, but Spengler does not despise the average reader of intelligence and cultivation, and seeks to reach and impress him. We have, therefore, the right to ask whether the recent small volume, entitled, *Man and Technics: A Contribution to a Philosophy of Life*, is impressive, persuasive, and at all sound.

Let me recall Spengler's basic contention. Our civilization, according to him, is sick unto death, and there is no possibility of curing it. The liberals, radicals, humanists, moralists, and reformers who endeavor to improve it by tinkering, or by revolutions, are all equally mistaken. The malady is insidious and fatal, although we can make the patient a little more comfortable, perhaps, for an hour or two by treating symptoms and dulling his sensations.

Now, what ails our civilization? Injustice, sin, lapses from avowed and attainable standards, conflict between theory and practice? Is there any hope for progress toward solidarity, fraternity, liberty, equity, and are we suffering from a sense of imperfection, unworthiness, treason to our own ideals? No, says Spengler. All this is puerile and illusory. Man has no sense of sin, despite the theologians, the most modern psychologists and the convictions of the average person. What we call remorse, uneasy conscience, regret, and shame, can be explained by false teaching. The natural man does not know or feel these things.

What is the natural man? Spengler answers, a beast of prey—solitary, crafty and cruel, "a foe to everyone, killing, hating, resolved to conquer or die." Man alone has evolved the Hand, the greatest of tools, and with this tool he has been able to create, perfect, and multiply machines and techniques. These remarkable inventions have served man well, but that stage of his history is drawing to a close. The machine is now turning against its creator. The machine is destroying "Faustian civilization," a civilization fatally divided against itself. The masses, inferior, full of envy and malice, suspicious and unwilling to be led, have learned from the few superior persons the arts of destruction. The masterful leaders, deprived of followers, are renouncing the machine. The purpose of technique was domination, but this has become impossible. The machine will disappear in the ruins of modern civilization.

Now, it would be easy to offer overwhelming evidence of the cruelty and savagery of man as he is after several thousand years of discipline and schooling. Certainly one cannot be very proud of man. His wars; his racial, religious, and class conflicts; his shortsightedness and levity; his superstitions and follies; his animal appetites and his criminal tendencies—all these lines of evidence make, in the thoughtful, for humility. But the indictment, terrible as it is, tells only one side of the story. It is true, but it is not the *whole* truth.

Man is cruel and selfish; but do these traits account for the family, the tribe, the state, the nation, the international organizations man has called into being? Man is selfish, yet his benevolence is a reality to be seen on every side. Man is solitary, in a sense, but he is also gregarious and social. He seeks the companionship of his fellows in a hundred ways, through clubs, lodges, churches, political parties, groups, unions, what not. Man fights, but he also coöperates. He kills, but he also saves. He has passions, but among them is the passion for truth, the passion for righteousness. He is vain and egotistical, but he goes to the stake for his ideas, and these ideas are often abstract and general. Can Spenglerism account for these amazing contrasts? No, it cannot. But it can belittle and disparage the better and softer side of human nature. Nietzsche did this with considerable temporary success. We have not forgotten his "blond beast," his contempt for the masses, his worship of force in the service of the aristocracy, his scorn for slave-morality and slave-religion. But Nietzsche was a poet, not a man of science, and the philosophical student of history cannot take his paradoxes very seriously.

Progress is a fact that cannot be denied or minimized. Inadequate as our civilization is, it is infinitely superior to any known past civilization. Compare the position of women, the treatment of children, the care of the insane, the administration of prisons, the character of punishment, the conditions of the landless workers, and a hundred other things, in our time and under our legal and ethical codes, with the corresponding positions and situations in any definite past era. Who, in the face of the improvements, can question the reality of progress—material, intellectual, and moral?

Furthermore, what are the most conspicuous and striking tendencies and trends of our present stage of civilization? In international relations we witness and take part in peace movements,

world parliaments, world tribunals, world campaigns against white slavery, the habit-forming drugs, peonage, dreaded diseases, and the like. The world is still an armed camp, but there are armament reduction and limitation treaties, war-renunciation pacts, arbitration and conciliation agencies, and these often succeed, directly or indirectly, in preventing or localizing brutal conflicts. True, governments not infrequently break their pledges and inflame the passions of their ignorant and deceived populations, but even such cynical or audacious and irresponsible governments often feel that they have to reckon with public opinion, and have to resort to sophistry and falsehood to justify their criminal conduct.

Our economic and political systems are very defective and unsatisfactory, but, after all, these systems are new, historically speaking, and subject to change. Indeed, they are undergoing radical changes and gradually correcting their faults. Capitalism has been challenged; old doctrinaire notions, like *laissez-faire* and rugged individualism, are being revised; laws are being adjusted to actual social conditions.

It is not easy to reconcile the "beast-of-prey" idea of man with the many reform movements of our time—with old-age pensions, employment insurance, protection of women and children, coöperative organizations, control of monopoly, regulation of public utilities, conservation movements, high and progressive taxation as a means of redistribution of wealth, labor, and radical reform movements. Spengler makes no attempt at such reconciliation.

He is sure, however, that the tensions and contradictions created by the machine and the machine civilization must, in the end, destroy the latter, and that humanity cannot escape its predestined doom. History, he asserts, is a succession of human tragedies, and the prospect of another and final tragedy need not startle us. But are these statements necessarily true?

Take the second first. Is history a record of failures and defeats, frustrations and reverses? What about science, the fine arts, philosophy? Are these human achievements in the realms of the spirit of little moment? What sort of tragedy is that which does not affect our best values, moral and esthetic?

Was the Renaissance a tragedy? Was the Reformation, or the discovery of America, or the French Revolution? There are tragic chapters in history, but there are also splendid and bright chapters. What reasons are there for despairing of the future for assuming

that Nature will defeat Culture? Is not culture a part of nature?

Let us glance at the tensions Spengler views with so much pessimism. There is, he says, tension between the leaders and the mass; tension between industrial processes and their results; tension between advanced nations and backward ones; tension between life and organization.

True, these tensions cause much strife and unrest, but it is wholly arbitrary to conclude that the problems creating the tensions are hopeless and insoluble. Masses do follow leaders, and leaders do serve and interpret popular aspirations and interests. Industrial processes are often contradicted by their results—witness technological unemployment—but the science of social engineering is seeking to remove those contradictions, and self-interest tends to reënforce the efforts of the engineers and technicians. Backward nations are catching up and profiting by the example of the advanced ones—witness Japan and Russia, which are Americanizing themselves and competing quite successfully with the advanced nations.

As to the tension between Life and Organization, Spengler is not the first keen thinker to call attention to a real and serious contradiction that requires study and reconciliation. Life is undoubtedly restricted, jeopardized and even imperilled by too much organization. The rigidity and spiritual poverty of institutionalism needs no emphasis in our day. But why should it be assumed that organization is necessarily fatal to spontaneity and elasticity, or to life? The problem is here, but why give it up as insoluble? Overorganization is bad, but so is underorganization, which is chaos and waste of human resources and values. A compromise should not be ruled out arbitrarily. There is such a thing as freedom under discipline. The arts, and especially music in its highest forms, illustrate that combination. The great composer—a Bach, a Beethoven—observes rules, yet is true to himself and able to express his deepest and subtlest thoughts. And, in the field of practical affairs, we have all types of associations and clubs in which the members feel quite free, despite the recognized necessity of constitutions and by-laws for the regulation of conduct within narrow specified limits.

We cannot but conclude that Spengler unconsciously exaggerates in one part of his argument while underestimating the powers and potentialities of the human mind in other parts.

Human achievements in science, art, and technology are so remarkable and so amazing that, to say the least, a presumption may be claimed in favor of the Meliorist, who believes that when we give as much anxious and systematic thought to social problems as we have given and continue to give to mathematical, physical, astronomical, and metaphysical problems, the tensions discussed by Spengler and others will be relieved, the present disorders and ills of the body politic and social will be cured, and the present obstacles to harmonious progress removed.

Civilization is sick, but not unto death. There are grounds for pessimism, no doubt, but the maladjustments of the world, its political and economic crises, do not furnish such grounds. Humanity has survived other periods of stress and storm. Mr. John Maynard Keynes has reminded us that one of these dark and critical periods lasted six hundred years! But after each such period, long or short, the advance was resumed and new conquests made by the human spirit. History, therefore, warrants hope, not despair.

The new pessimism is as unphilosophical as was the shallow optimism of the latter part of the eighteenth century and the middle of the nineteenth. The truly scientific point of view has no sympathy with either. It has not lost faith in reason or in humanity. It believes, and has plenty of evidence to support the belief, that further progress is possible and reasonably certain, and that life is worth living even today, to say nothing of the more abundant and nobler life that can be ours if we but will it and work for it under the guidance of disinterested thinkers and inspiring leaders.

It is gratifying to note that this is the point of view adopted by the so-called Hoover Commission on Social Trends in its several reports as well as in its admirable summary. Ours is a period of transition, of confusion, but also of changes unmistakably progressive and socially beneficial. The committee emphasizes the duty of deliberate, rational planning in economics and in politics, and of substituting coöperation for competition, method for blind guessing, a social ideal for a crude, destructive egoism. In this direction, in truth, lies moral and sound progress. Spengler's comments on the conclusions of the Social Trends Commission would be most instructive.

THE PROFESSORSHIP OF THE PRINTING PRESS

BY AUGUST F. STEFFEN

THE tendency in recent years to humanize and popularize modern knowledge by presenting it in very readable form in so-called "outlines" and "stories," while generally acclaimed by the reading public, does not always meet with such ready acclaim by those who occupy important chairs at the colleges. Every now and then a professor rises in his might to do battle against this new method of the spread of knowledge which has been dubbed "the cultural ABC's," said to be the work of "the cult of short-cut culture." While admitting that men ought to know what is going on in the world of thought, they seriously question the merits of this short cut to knowledge, regarding it as the mental equivalent of the quick lunch-counter giving rise to cultural indigestion.

On the other hand, it is argued that learning is emerging from its cloisters to do battle with ignorance in the dust of the market place; that the world is seeking in books and in the current press the education which it failed to get at the colleges; that the educational program of the Victorians has become obsolete; that the cultural snobbishness of the elect is forever doomed.

We hold no brief for the professors, nor is it our purpose to come to the defense of the modern cult. The issue will be decided by popular choice, not by controversy. The main point of interest is the larger subject which it introduces: To what extent is learning acquired from the printed page—from books, magazines, and the newspapers—to what extent is education indebted to the professorship of the printing press? This is the real question underlying the above mentioned controversy, and the real subject with which this article is concerned. The note of discord above sighted vivifies the need of harmony and lends emphasis to our theme that the printing press and education have no quarrel, that one sustains the other in their single aim—the enlightenment and progress of the human race.

Compared with the far-reaching historic development of education, it may be said that the art of printing is of comparatively recent origin dating from the middle of the fifteenth century when Gutenberg invented movable type. But the printed page had a crude

forerunner in the written page—books tediously copied by hand which, nevertheless, sustained and promoted the work of education. Since much of the literature of the ancient and medieval world was preserved and is available to us now in the form of the printed page, the scope and power of the printing press is not limited to modern times, but reaches back into dim antiquity.

From a literary viewpoint, at least, the Middle Ages were properly called the Dark Ages. With the fall of pagan Greece and Rome, classic drama had become extinct; and from A.D. 300 to the thirteenth century, a span of a thousand years, there was practically no writing except religious writing. The only people who could read were the priests and clerics. Kings and nobles boasted that they could not read and the occasional aristocrat who preferred learning to fighting was ashamed to acknowledge it. One authority states that certainly not one in a hundred persons could then read or write.

After the fall of Rome, Europe had retrograded to the semi-civilization of its barbarian conquerors, but the barbarians who had destroyed the old order and ushered in the Dark Ages gradually began to grope for the light; the great revival of learning, or the Renaissance, was at hand. The poetry of Homer, the drama of Sophocles, the philosophy of Plato and of Aristotle woke again to life especially at Florence, so long the home of freedom and art. Foreign scholars flocked over the Alps to learn Greek, the key of the new knowledge. France, Germany, and England shared with Italy in the awakening. Europe was ransacked for lost books and many monastic treasures were brought to light. They were copied, compared, edited, and criticized, and inaugurated the modern scientific spirit in developing an historic appreciation and in creating a craving for truth for its own sake.

This rising curiosity for knowledge, this rapid development of a taste for books led to the invention of printing. The following tribute from the eloquent tongue of Robert G. Ingersoll is much to the point:

In 1441 printing was discovered. At that time the past was a vast cemetery with hardly an epitaph. The ideas of men had mostly perished in the brain that produced them. The lips of the human race had been sealed. Printing gave pinions to thought. It preserved ideas. It made it possible

for man to bequeath to the future the riches of his brain, and the wealth of his soul. When people read they begin to reason, and when they reason they progress.

The advent of the art of printing was not heralded from the skies by celestial choirs; it was conceived in solitude by human genius working in obscurity, born of the parentage of human need at the Bethlehem of human progress. No sooner had printing become a reality when its usefulness became widely recognized, and in the institution of human knowledge a chair was conceded to the professorship of the printing press.

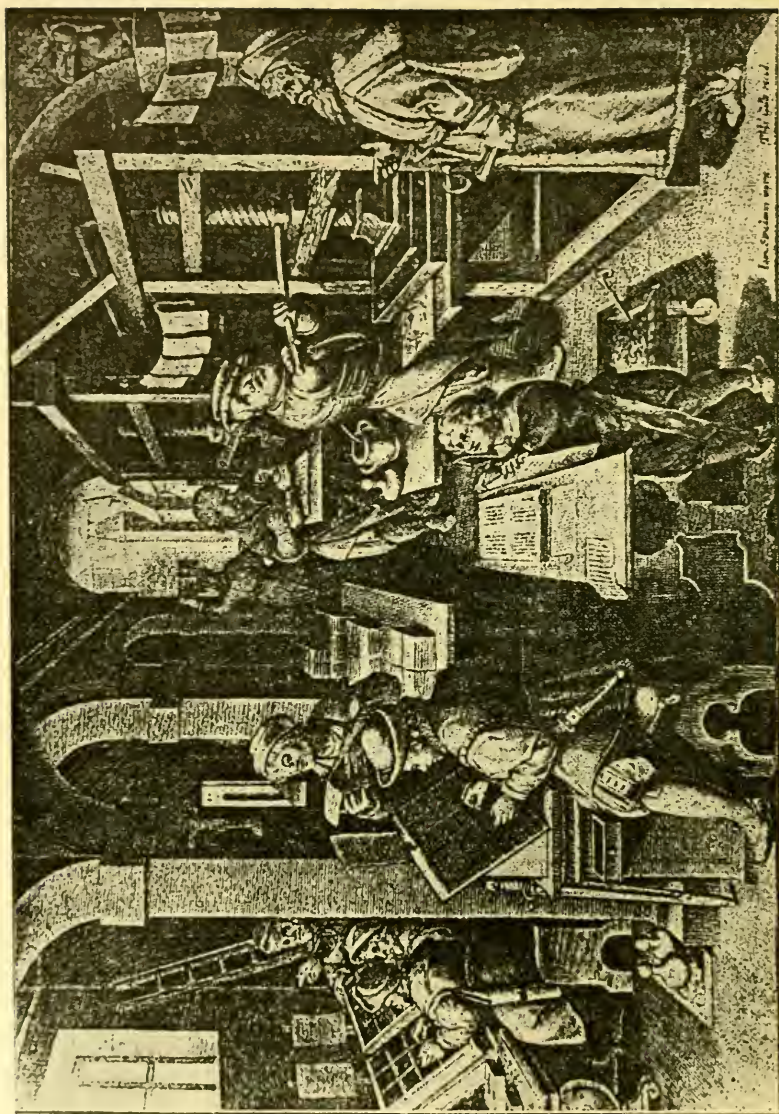
The first great movement in which the printing press figured materially was the Protestant Reformation. Religious doubt had led to a rapidly growing demand for the authoritative text of the Scriptures; and to meet this growing demand, the first book of any note printed from movable type was Gutenberg's now famous 42-Line Bible. Though the process was still slow, unlimited copies of the Bible could now be printed at a moderate cost.

Martin Luther, who had already used printing extensively in circulating pamphlets and tracts in his revolt against the authority of the church, now translated the Bible into German, the New Testament being first published in 1522. By choosing the Franconian dialect in use at that time in the imperial chancery, Luther made himself intelligible to those whose vernacular dialect was High German or Low German, and his Bible is still the standard of the German tongue.

In England printing and dissemination of the Bible had much the same result as in Germany. J. R. Green, in his *Short History of the English People*, says:

England became the people of a book, and that book was the Bible. . . . The whole prose literature of England, save the forgotten tracts of Wycliffe, has grown up since the translation of the Scriptures by Tyndale and Coverdale. So far as the nation at large was concerned, no history, no romance, hardly any poetry, save the little-known verses of Chaucer, existed in the English tongue when the Bible was ordered to be set up in the churches. . . . As a mere literary monument, the English version of the bible remains the noblest example of the English tongue, while its perpetual use made it from the instant of its appearance the standard of our language.

The printing press brought about one great change in the evolution of civilization—it transferred education from the hands of the



A VENETIAN PRINTING ESTABLISHMENT

few to the hands of the many; it brought enlightenment to the masses. So long as books were few and costly, education was pursued by only a few; when, through the art of printing, books and pamphlets became plentiful and could be purchased at a nominal cost, the masses clamored for knowledge and schools became imperative.

Not only had the printed page stimulated the desire for education, but the school textbooks and reference books supplied the means, the necessary material, the instrumentality through which education could actually be acquired. Textbooks made possible definite courses of study and established a unit of measurement for the actual work accomplished; even in the laboratories the textbook or manual became a necessary guide.

During the Middle Ages practically the whole learned world agreed with Ptolemy that our earth was the center of the universe and that about it revolved ten spherical shells of transparent crystal bearing the heavenly bodies. Only a handful of speculative men in each generation suspected a greater universe; but they spoke of their ideas only in a whisper, fearful that they would be made outcasts if their curiosity became known. Copernicus, who had devoted his life to the search for knowledge, recorded his findings in his book, *On the Revolutions of the Celestial Orbs*, but fear of persecution made him withhold publication until the time of his death; and thus, in 1543 the printing press proclaimed to the world the Copernican system which shattered the old order and created a new heaven and a new earth.

Other triumphs of the printing press in the dissemination of scientific knowledge can be sighted in large numbers, but it will suffice here to mention only the works of Bruno, Galileo, Isaac Newton, and Francis Bacon, as outstanding examples. They were the progenitors of the new thought that blazed the trail in our modern scientific progress.

It is, however, in literature proper where the printing press holds its most exclusive sway. How many people would be familiar with the works of William Shakespeare today were it not for the printed page? But perhaps the most common form of modern fiction is the novel of which Fielding's *Tom Jones*, and Goethe's *William Meister's Apprenticeship* were among the earliest masterpieces. Before the age of printing the success of the novel would have been unthinkable. The novel is a common form of modern literary ex-

position because the printing press created a field for it. And no one will deny the cultural, ethical, and educational value of such novels as Hugo's *Les Misérables*, Hawthorne's *Scarlet Letter*, Tolstoy's *War and Peace*, James's *The American*, or Mark Twain's *Huckleberry Finn*. The vast production of short stories, many of them real literary gems, were ushered into being by the vehicle of the printing press; and modern poetry is making its bow to the public from the same limousine.

While the printing press and the school worked hand in hand for popular education during the early centuries of our modern era, progress was slow enough, and it was only within the last hundred years that the majority of the people in Europe and America have been able to read and acquire a degree of elementary education. France made definite provision for public schools only in 1816, Belgium followed in 1842, Holland in 1857, and England did not pass a general education law until 1870. In Germany popular education was taken up by various duchies and principalities at various times, but only since the middle of the past century has it become universal. The age of literacy, so far as the great masses of the people in our boasted Western civilization are concerned, dates back only about seventy or eighty years.

During the past fifty years, however, the growth of schools and education has been very rapid and far reaching. At the beginning of this century the elementary schools of Europe approximated an enrollment of 47,000,000 pupils, and the elementary schools of the United States at that time had an enrollment of 18,000,000 pupils. Today school education has practically become universal in America. At the beginning of the school year (1931), the National Education Association, of Washington, D. C., estimated that approximately 30,000,000 American children and adolescents were on their way to 255,000 school buildings. Nearly 24,000,000 of them are in elementary schools, more than 5,000,000 in high schools, and close to 1,000,000 are enrolled in colleges.

No less remarkable than the growth of education in recent years has been the progress of printing. Books multiplied more rapidly with each passing year, not only for the use of the school and the home, but for public libraries as well; and today every city of any size in every civilized land boasts one or more public libraries. For famous libraries of today we need but mention the British Museum, the National Library of France, and the National Library of Con-



Ret chere made our ost to vs everychon
 And to soupere sette he vs anon
 He serued vs wyth vytayll at the beste
 Stronge was the wyne & wel drynke vs lyfte
 At semely man our oste was wyth alle
 For to be a marchal in a lordes halle
 A large man he was wyth eyen stepe
 A feyrr burgeys is ther non in chepe
 Bold of hys speche and wel was y taught
 And of manhood lacked he right nought
 Eke ther to was he right a mery man
 And aftir souper to pleyen he began
 And spak of myrthe amonge other thynges
 Whan that he hadde made our rekenynges
 He sayd thus nob lordynges treulþ
 Be he to me right welcome ferkþ
 For by my trolþe yf I shal not lye
 I sal not thys yere so mery a compagne

gress at Washington, rapidly taking rank as the greatest institution of its kind in the world.

Under the Census of Manufactures for 1927, the United States Department of Commerce reports the publication of 227,495,544 books during that single year. Textbooks for school use head the list with approximately 84,000,000 volumes; books of fiction take second place with 36,000,000 volumes, followed respectively by juvenile books, books of religion and philosophy, poetry and drama, biography, law, science and technology, history, travel, medicine. To consider that in America alone approximately a quarter billion books are published in a single year is bewildering enough, and the figures mount to staggering proportions when computed for a period of ten or twenty years for all civilized countries in the world.

In such a deluge of books how can busy men and women know what is the best literature; how can they single out the books that will entertain and benefit them most? It was this problem that prompted Dr. Charles W. Eliot, for forty years president of Harvard University, to compile the famous "five-foot shelf of books"—"The Harvard Classics"—containing, according to Dr. Eliot himself, "the essentials of a liberal education." It was this same purpose that brought into being *The Outline of History* by H. G. Wells, *The Story of Philosophy* by Dr. Will Durant, *The Outline of Man's Knowledge* by Clement Wood, and numerous other works of so-called "stories," and "outlines," aimed to humanize and popularize knowledge, each in their specific field.

Perhaps of even greater influence than books in the world of modern thought are the newspapers and the magazines. The current press is one great fountain-head of popular information, determining in a large measure what people will read about, think about, and talk about. The current press is the dynamic force that crystallizes public opinion, the tribunal where all cases are tried; it is the forum where all policies are acquitted or condemned, the stage where all contestants for public favor must appear; it is the incarnate spirit of the present, the voice of now.

It's a far cry from Gutenberg's crude press with a capacity of fifty impressions an hour, to the modern rotary press printing a twelve-page newspaper at the rate of 144,000 copies an hour; but it is a story of progress in the printing industry, a story of the

growth in the dissemination of information and enlightenment, a story of the growth of education.

If records have it right, the first newspaper was published in Venice in 1620. It was called the *Gazetta* and was a "paper of public intelligence." Nathaniel Butler published the first weekly newspaper in England as early as 1622, and the first daily paper made its appearance in England in 1709.

In America the first real newspaper was the *Boston News Letter* founded in 1704. A hundred years later the number of publications had grown to 359 papers with a total circulation of 22,000,000 per annum. From this humble beginning publications and circulations have mounted to miraculous proportions today. According to Federal Census of Manufactures for the year 1927, there were published in the United States in that year 14,352 newspapers and periodicals having a combined circulation of 278,617,025 copies per issue. Of this number 2,265 were daily newspapers (exclusive of Sunday) with a daily circulation of approximately 42,000,000 copies. There were 511 Sunday newspapers with a combined circulation of 28,000,000 copies, and 7,760 weekly publications (newspapers and magazines) totalling 58,000,000 copies per issue. The monthly publications numbered 2,522 and their combined circulation approximated 121,000,000 copies per issue. The balance of the circulation was made up by triweekly, semiweekly, semimonthly, and quarterly publications.

Little do we realize to what extent the current press enters into our social fabric today. The reader of a hundred years ago would be spell-bound at the thought of the modern reader who sits down to his breakfast table and opens his newspaper to observe events of the world unfolding before him. Like the magic carpet of the magician it transports him immediately to distant lands. It sets him down in the parliaments of the nations, ushers him into the palaces of the captains of industry and commerce, the laboratories of the scientists, and the work-shops of the inventors; it makes him share the throbbing pulse of human thoughts and achievements; it bids him drink from the cup of living joy and sorrow, and portrays to him the epitome of the world's comedy and tragedy.

There are those who speak very slightly of the press, which is well illustrated by the saying that you should read your newspaper standing up. But these would-be critics are well answered

by Professor George Herbert Palmer in his lecture on "Self-Culture in English" in the following words:

I consider the newspaper men lucky because they are writing all the time, and I do not think so meanly of their product as the present popular disparagement would seem to require. It is hasty work undoubtedly and bears the mark of haste. But in my judgment, at no period of the English language has there been so high an average of sensible, vivacious, and informing sentences written as appears in our daily press. . . . A certain straight-forward English is becoming established. A whole nation is learning the use of its mother tongue.

And these words from Dr. Elmer E. Brown, as United States Commissioner of Education:

You may teach the Indian scientific facts; you may teach him history and literature; but if he does not get interested in the newspaper and become a reader of it he will not come into the Anglo-Saxon world of public opinion, he will not become educated in the highest sense of the word.

After all education is not limited to the class room; it is not merely a preparation for maturity to be abandoned at the age of adolescence. Fortunately graduation exercises are only commencement exercises, and colleges are issuing only "degrees" in scholarship. The schools impart only the instrumentalities of mental growth, a working basis, with which man achieves continuous illumination throughout life. Daily he masters new lessons that equip him with the arts and discipline necessary to play his part well in the rôle of a social being, in the life play of economic and social order.

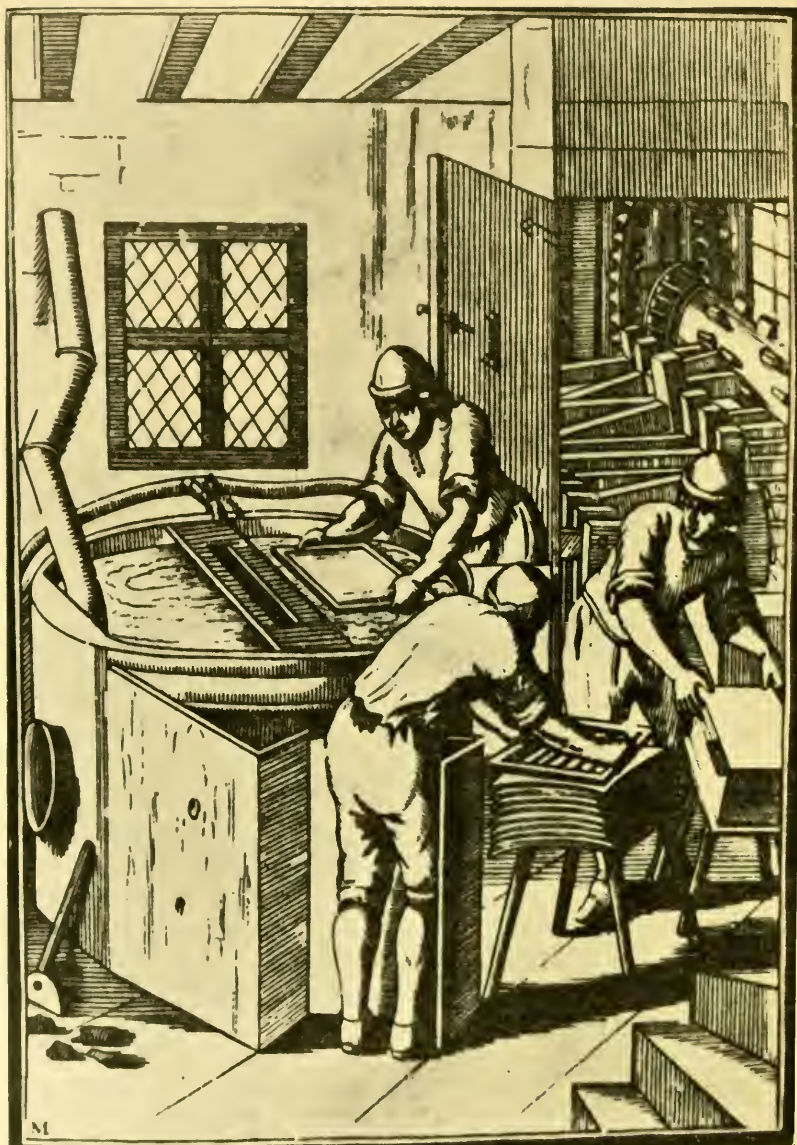
In the school of experience the lessons of life come alike to the learned and unlearned, but the learned man has in his possession, in his access to the printed page, the experience of humanity, the wisdom of the ages, which enables him to convert the chaotic multiplicity of daily experience into orderly systems and beneficial agencies that make for constructive achievements in education, in developing character, and in the practical accomplishments of life's work. To him all knowledge is common knowledge inasmuch as his education gives him access to all knowledge.

The educated man has available, not only the sensitive and subtle wisdom of the past, but he is a close student of current literature—the newspapers, the magazines, and the new books—and he adds the experience of others to his own experience. The profes-

sorship of the printing press takes the place of his college professor and brings to him the knowledge of the world. World events are common knowledge the world over. The achievements of an Alexander Bell, a Guglielmo Marconi, or a Thomas Edison, instantly become precious assets to the whole world. The educated man has at his command the world's mass intelligence which becomes redirected and reapplied by his own intelligence, concentrated in a unified intelligence in the white heat of which all problems melt into satisfactory solutions.

In the application of the world's unified intelligence rests the final answer of modern progress. It accounts for the modern steam engine, the ocean liner, the automobile, and the aeroplane. It has given us electricity, the telegraph, the telephone, wireless communication, and the radio. It has given us luxurious homes with upholstered furniture, where we dwell in the temperature of June while we look out of our windows upon a wintry landscape, where hot and cold water flow to our touch and sanitary plumbing makes possible the utmost cleanliness. It has given us skyscrapers and factories, subways and bridges, railroads and highways. It has supplied men with machines with which to do their work, and has emancipated women from household drudgeries. It has banished slavery and persecution, and acquired freedom and liberty in many forms, for the masses of the world. It has liberated man from ignorance and superstition, given him political emancipation and a measure of self-government. It has made this world a good place to live in.

This modern progress, with its comforts and conveniences: this higher degree of social order, with its refinement and culture; this common possession of human knowledge, with its resultant benefits: this is what we are pleased to call our modern civilization, achieved by the constructive genius of man's mass intelligence, already accredited to the professorship of the printing press.



AN EARLY PAPER FACTORY

THE AGE OF PAPER

BY GUSTAVE CARUS

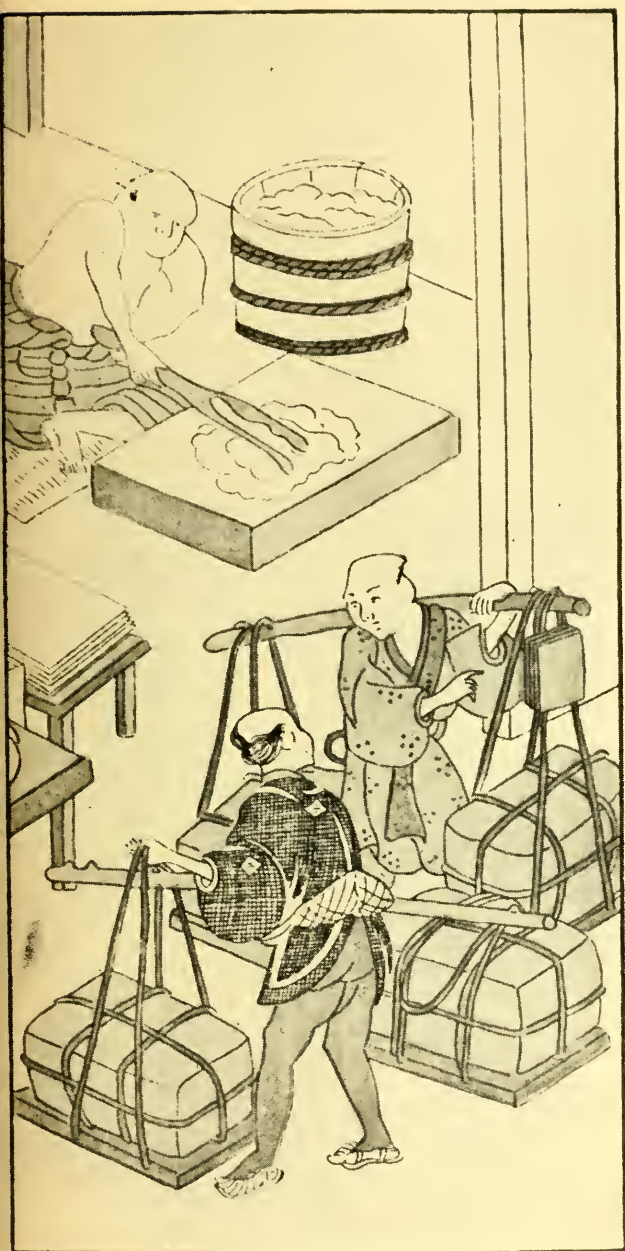
THE Age of Steel! So we call the present time. The reason for this name and its justification are too obvious to need comment, and the name itself is so well established that we accept it as a matter of course. When one thinks of the part that steel plays in human life, from the most colossal work of engineering to so small a thing as a needle, one is not inclined to question the aptness of this name.

Although it is not here intended to question the importance of steel or to deny its name to our age, let us consider the possibility that the name, the "Age of Paper," would not be entirely unjustified. Consider how much and in how many forms and for how many purposes we come in contact with paper every day and every hour of our lives. It is said that the wasp was the first paper-maker, but let us dwell a few minutes on the making and introduction of paper among men.

Paper was first made in China, and its invention was announced to the Emperor in A.D. 105 by one of his officers, Ts'ai Lun. A near-paper made of silk fibers seems to have been known and used about fifty years before. Its purpose was to replace both bamboo and silk as writing material, the former being too heavy for convenience, and the latter too expensive for general use. The invention was perfected long before the first piece of paper was brought to Europe. Many kinds of paper were in common use in China, writing papers, hemp paper, wrapping paper, tissue paper, and pure rag paper.

The process of making paper from its beginning to the present time has remained fundamentally the same, although both the process and the product have been greatly improved, until now many kinds of high quality paper are made with very little hand labor. In early times silk, mulberry bark, and rags were used. The resinous material contained in them had to be separated out by fermenting and washing in boiling water, before the fiber was beaten to a pulp. Water was then added to form an emulsion, which had to be continuously agitated. This material was poured upon cloths stretched horizontally on a frame with a rim. Later these frames were made in such a way that they could be dipped into the emulsion; and the





A Japanese Paper century. One can see the process—the maceration of the pulp, the dipping of the moulds into the vat, and the drying of the sheets. Paper, in Japan, is used for every conceivable purpose.

rim or deckle was made removable. While the water drained out through the cloth, the operator agitated it in such a way as to properly orient the fibers. Next the material was placed between felt and pressed until dry enough to hold together by itself. The sheets thus formed were pressed again without the felt, after which they were hung up to dry. Finally, to prevent ink from soaking into the paper, they were dipped into sizing and rubbed, or later rolled, until smooth.

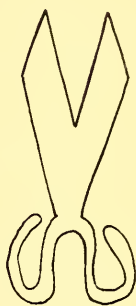
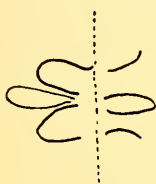
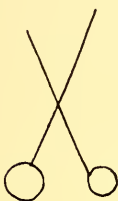
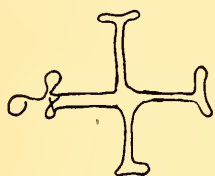
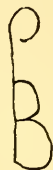
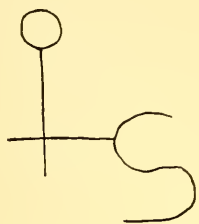
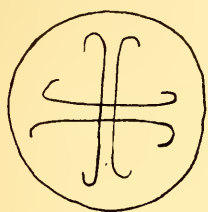
When one compares the advanced state of civilization of China with the backwardness of Europe at the time of the introduction of paper and considers the advances made in the Occident when its use became general, the assumption seems plausible that the two things are related. Without a writing material which is neither "too heavy nor too expensive" (as an old Chinese document describes the remarkable product), could literacy have become general?

When Marco Polo returned to his home where noblemen could barely sign their names and scorned writing as an effeminate occupation of the clergy, the greatest marvel that he could tell of the wonderful land of Cathay was that every man could read and write.

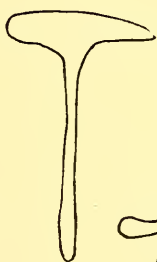
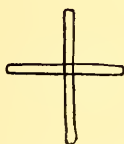
In China seals impressed in clay had come into general use about 200 B.C., but long before, it had been customary to carve the standard texts of the classics in stone. In the second century of our era, with the use of this new material, paper, inked rubbings taken from such inscriptions were an early precursor of the printed page.

In the fifth century the first step toward true printing was taken; inked seals were stamped on paper. In the following hundred years a number of methods were tried, such as stencils and stamps. The use of paper gradually led to the invention of printing. The need for quantities of Buddhist sacred texts gave the incentive for the development of printing and so it came about that the work of perfecting it was for the most part done in Buddhist monasteries. The first important printed books in Europe, too, seven hundred years later, were the *Bibla Pauperum* and the Bible.

In the ninth century in China actual books were printed; in the eleventh, the art attained a quality which has never been surpassed. Movable type was invented and used to some extent, but it was not perfected, perhaps because the Chinese orthography did not lend itself conveniently to its use.



BAR TO l



OLD WATERMARKS

It is fairly certain that movable type was reinvented in Europe about 1540. The idea of block printing may have been carried to Europe by some unknown traveler, but there is no positive evidence either for or against this possibility. It is known positively, however, that the secret of making paper came from China over Central Asia, through North Africa to Spain, and then to France, Italy, and Germany.

The great religions served as bonds of union between nations of various groups. Christianity formed one family of states with a common religion and a universal literary language; Islam formed another; and further east there were the Buddhist, Hindu and the Chinese group. While religions brought the nations of each family closer together, they also placed almost insurmountable barriers between the different groups, separating the world into great cultural domains.

On its way to Europe, paper had to pass from the Chinese, into the Islamic, and on into the Christian world. It was a long and difficult journey, over Asia and North Africa, across inter-religious, interracial, and international boundaries. A thousand years after its first invention, paper was made in Christendom in 1189 at Hérault in France. The first paper made in Europe was in Moslem Spain at Nativa in 1150.

For a long time, the greater part of the paper used in Europe was imported, the progress of its use being slower than it had been in the Far and Near East. There were two reasons for this, first the prevalence of illiteracy and second, the fact that parchment or vellum, which paper displaced in Europe, had never been as difficult to use as the papyrus of the Moslems or the bamboo stationery of the Chinese. The first large paper-mill in Italy was established at Montefano in 1198 and, by the following century, Italy supplied more paper to Christian Europe than did Spain and Damascus, which up to then were the chief sources of supply.

Like craftsmen in other fields, the Italian paper-makers were proud of their work, and devised a method of putting the emblem of the master craftsman on their product by means of the watermark. A wire, bent in the form of the mark desired, was laid on or attached to the screen in the mould which left its imprint in the paper as it was made and put the craftsman's signature on his work without disfiguring it. Indeed, so modest was the mark that it could only be seen clearly by holding the paper to the light, and

yet it was permanent and unmistakable—an ideal form for a craftsman's mark.

The first known watermarks are found in paper made in 1282 or, some think, in 1272. They are simple in form, crosses, loops, and knots. A few years later a paper-maker used fleur-de-lis, and soon others used their initials. For about twenty years after 1307 the use of the maker's full name is often found, but this custom seems to have been confined to the environs of Fabriano. Characteristic emblems or pictures were more widely understood and more easily remembered, since few people were able to read in those days. There were a great number of marks depicting anything from pairs of shears, bunches of grapes, to winged lions, conventionalized and adapted for use as watermarks. Some marks indicate the maker, some his city, some the mill; some indicate the size or quality of the paper, and some the year in which it was made, like hall-marks still in use on silver.

There is some doubt as to the date of the introduction of paper-making into Germany. A mill was opened in Nuremberg in 1391, and it is possible that there had been one in Cologne in 1320. Some maintain that the art was introduced from Spain as early as 1260. The industry seems to have remained rather small until the middle of the fifteenth century, when the invention of printing stimulated the demand. Illiteracy, then so general throughout Europe was the greatest obstacle to be overcome.

It was in 1494 that paper was first made in England, over two hundred years after it was made in France and Italy. Two centuries later the first paper-mill was opened in Philadelphia.

The fourteenth century saw both, the revival of learning and the general use of paper in Italy. It may have been merely a coincidence, scholarship might have been reawakened without paper, but this new cheap and convenient writing material must have been a great boon to the writers and scholars of that age.

Without paper there would have been little incentive toward the development of printing. Even if printing had been invented, it would have remained a restricted, esoteric art, serving the few, leaving the great mass of mankind outside its sphere of influence. Both paper and printing were necessary to lift Europe out of its ignorance and make possible the great intellectual movements which have made modern times.

CARILLONS VERSUS CANNON: GARDENS VERSUS GUNS

BY HENRY CHARLES SUTER

SOMETHING significant, if not startling, has happened on two occasions of international interest. Although the event has been broadcast in each case to the uttermost parts of the earth, yet the specific incident seemingly has been missed by most folk.

In the first instance, it had been dramatically arranged and duly announced that a salute of guns was to greet His Excellency the Governor-General of Canada as he sallied forth to open the Imperial Conference at Ottawa, but the guns were silent, and instead the beautifully toned carillon in the Memorial Tower sounded out its melodious music on the summer air.

None seem to know whence came this change of plan, but it is conclusive that the thing was unprecedented in the history of the Dominion. Possibly this change in project came to someone in a sudden flash of inspiration, that the raucous crash of cannon would create an incongruous accompaniment to such an occasion, but it gave many great cause for gratitude that the carillon of bells was heard rather than cannon with their booming.

In the second instance herein mentioned, it has been recorded that on the international boundary line south of Boissevain, Manitoba, dividing Canada and America, a Peace Garden has recently been dedicated. The words inscribed on the cairn standing upon the international line read thus: "To God in His glory we two nations dedicate this garden and pledge ourselves that as long as man shall live we will not take up arms against each other."

There certainly could not be a more complete renunciation of war than those words convey. While it might be contended that we cannot claim such a project must continuously bind both nations, it can be conceded that both countries are convinced it were better to be making gardens, rather than manning guns.

But then have we not contended that in all the decisive campaigns of history, something more than material forces have been at work, something more than big battalions to be reckoned with? In estimating the character of a statesman recently a writer referred to the fact that so-and-so had not been a marked success, because all the problems of politics to him were wholly material problems.

never moral or spiritual and were to be solved solely by material forces. Surely that is enough to account for any man's failure!

Have not all past wars shown us how useless gunfire is? Heavy ordnances have pounded away for months with precious little effect. All history points to the uselessness of material things as powers for peace or paths to prosperity. How puny have the forces of iron bars proven; how futile tortures; and useless inquisitions? The truth is that armies are not strength, for Acre and Waterloo tell it; the flames of Kremlin and the solitudes of Fontainebleau show it; and the plains of Picardy have proven it.

One honest man or one wise man often commands millions, and that without a baton, sword, or charger. Why! the historian tells us that William the Silent won a subject from the King of Spain every time he took off his hat. Curtesy is better than cannon; bells better than official bluster; and grace succeeds where guns are sure to fail.

Even Napoleon knew another way to victory other than by force of arms, for he used to say "When you can use the lightning, it is better than cannon."

The suggestion is that there are other forces than war whereby we are able to strike fear in the heart of a foe, which are much more expeditious and effective. Mechanical contrivances may be useful in a way, and artificial implements serviceable now and then; but if you want to do something effective, lightning is the thing.

It is a reminder that the great forces of life are invisible, not tangible; moral, not material; spiritual, not temporal. We may continue to argue, "Who won the war?" Personally I think it was our mothers. Moreover it will be our women who will save us from another. Yes, all this seems a far cry from the fever for warships; the amassing of armies; the forging of guns; and the gauging of gasses. But in the light of the knowledge of these two incidents recording efforts for peace, we are not so helpless as it seems. "More things are wrought by prayer than this world dreams of," sings the poet, and quiet and gentle influences have been brought to bear upon some of the greatest issues of national and international importance that some day will astonish the world. Remember a pint of oil every half an hour thrown upon the roughest sea is sufficient to smoothe the water and to effect the rescue of passengers from a sinking vessel to another safely. God can still perform wonders with humble workers associated with Him. There must be humble dependence,

not on "reeking tube and iron shard," but upon the unseen and eternal forces, by national righteousness and individual waiting upon God. By belief in the beauty of holiness and the glory of prayer.

Life for the individual or for the nation is not a question of fierce conflict; nor of severe struggle; nor fields of blood; nor yet preparation for war. At least it is not for the church, therefore let us have done with the idea and settle the question for ever.

At least for the church it is a question of waiting upon God: cleansing the moral vision; kindling spiritual fire; and listening for the command of the great captain, the prince of peace, the son of God.

Surely at last as intelligent people, we should forsake the crude and crass notion that everything the community does in a national, official or patriotic way has to be accomplished to an accompaniment of military display, and a splurge of the symbols of war.

Our militarists, mostly for mundane reasons, may be determined to perpetuate these warlike principles and practice such army customs, but common-sense people have recently demanded a change and they are gratified that on these occasions of late, that carillons have been heard instead of cannon; and gardens have been seen instead of guns.

THE NEW ORIENT SOCIETY OF AMERICA

THE NEW ORIENT SOCIETY OF AMERICA is now completing its first year, and and it can look back upon a successful time during a difficult economic period. At the annual meeting of November 18, the following Officers and Directors were elected:

PROFESSOR JAMES H. BREASTED.....Honorary President
Director Oriental Institute, University of Chicago
DR. BERTHOLD LAUFER.....Honorary Vice-President
Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, Illinois
PROFESSOR WILLIAM R. SHEPHERD.....President
Columbia University, New York, N.Y.
MR. JOHN PAYNE KELLOGG.....Treasurer
MISS CATHERINE COOK.....Secretary

BOARD OF DIRECTORS:

PROFESSOR JAMES H. BREASTED
MR. HENRY FIELD
DR. BERTHOLD LAUFER
MR. EDWIN H. CASSELS
MR. JOHN PAYNE KELLOGG
PROFESSOR A. T. OLMSTEAD
PROFESSOR MARTIN SPRENGLING

Six monographs, listed below, have been published. During 1933 we will publish the second series of six monographs as special numbers of *The Open Court*. These monographs will deal with various cultural aspects of the New Orient, and will be edited by leading American scholars.

FIRST MONOGRAPH SERIES PUBLISHED BY THE OPEN COURT

January, 1932. <i>The Heritage of Western Asia.</i> Edited by Professor Martin Sprengling, University of Chicago.	July, 1932. <i>Syria-Palestine.</i> Edited by Professor A. T. Olmstead, University of Chicago.
March, 1932. <i>The Heritage of Eastern Asia.</i> Edited by Professor A. E. Haydon, Department of Comparative Religion, University of Chicago.	September, 1932. <i>Egypt.</i> Edited by Professor Halford L. Hoskins, Department of History, Tufts College, Massachusetts.
May, 1932. <i>Modern Turkey.</i> Edited by Professor A. H. Lybyer, University of Illinois.	December, 1932. <i>Arabia.</i> Edited by Professor Martin Sprengling, University of Chicago.

SECOND MONOGRAPH SERIES TO BE PUBLISHED DURING 1933

January, 1933. <i>Persia.</i> Edited by Professor Arthur Upham Pope, Director of the Persian Institute.	July, 1933. <i>India.</i> Edited by Professor Walter E. Clark, Department of Sanskrit, Harvard University.
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